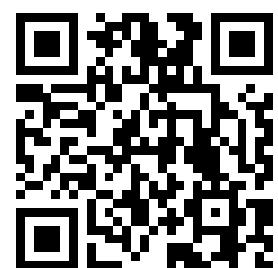


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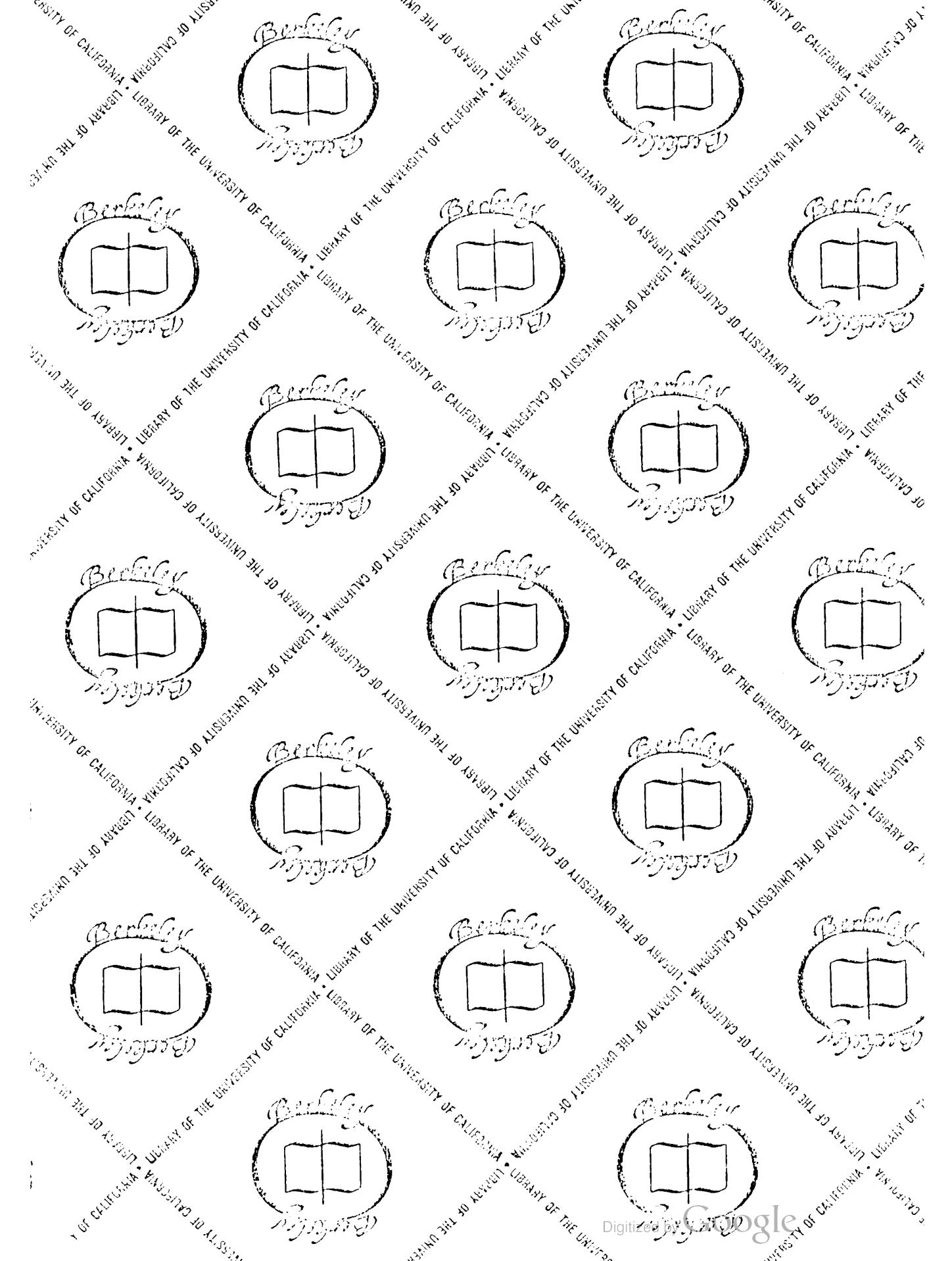
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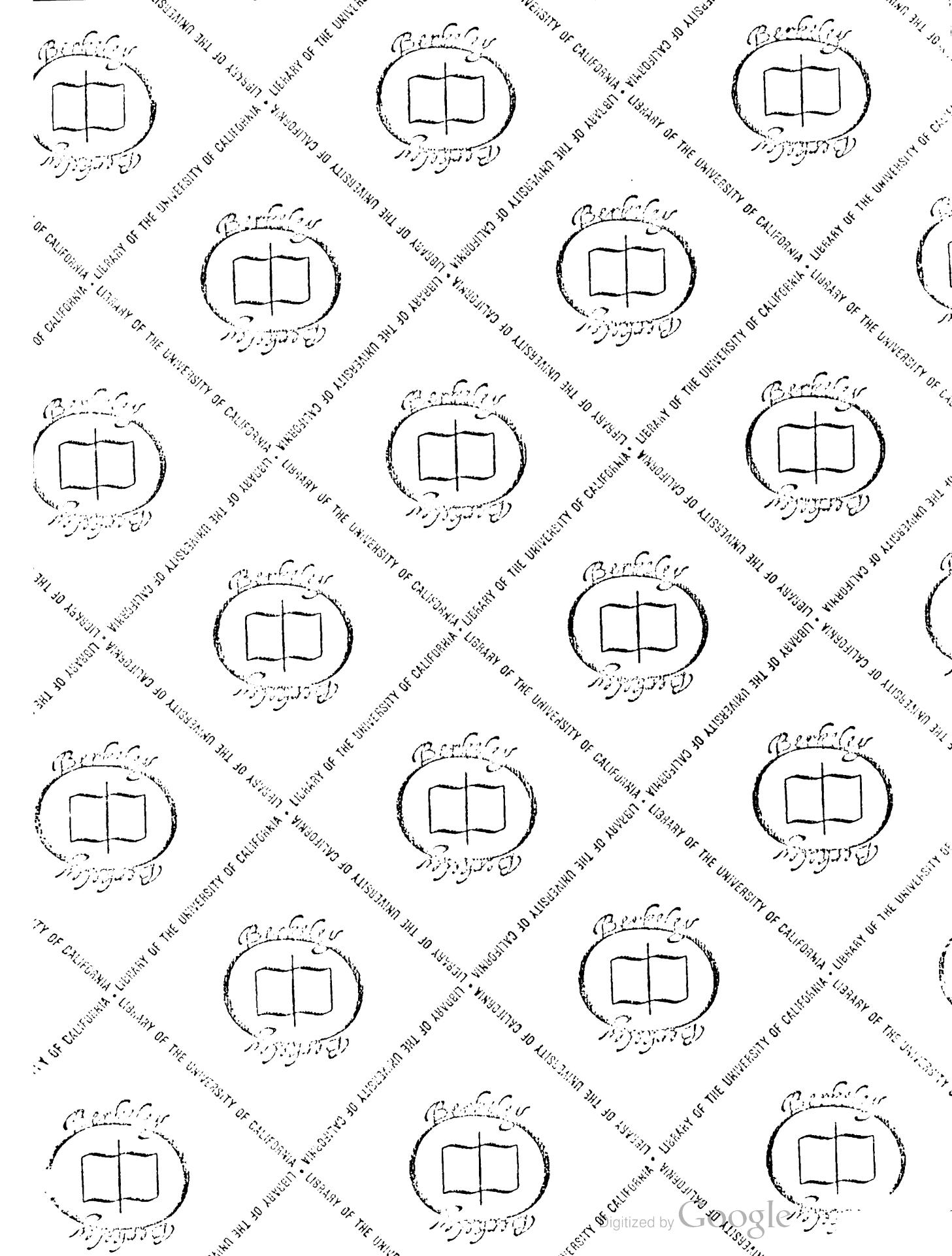
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ADVERSARIA SINICA

BY

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## PREFACE

There is hardly any need for a preface to this collection of miscellaneous papers, except to acknowledge my obligation to my son, Mr. Bertram Giles, H. B. M. Consul at Ch'ang-sha, for the very full Index he has found time to contribute.

I should like to add, in view of a widespread misunderstanding, that the word *Adversaria* has nothing whatever to do with "hostility." It simply means a "note-book," and was so used by Cicero.

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HERBERT A. GILES

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### WHO WAS *SI WANG MU*?

Across the pages of Chinese tradition—it is scarcely possible to say history—there moves a strange figure, known as 西王母 *Si Wang Mu* (sometimes as 王母 only), which words, if to be translated, must mean “West Queen Mother,” yielding the sense of “Queen-Mother of the West.”

*Si* is usually written *Hsi* in Pekingese, a comparatively modern dialect.

The term was rendered by Mayers (*Manual*, No. 572) as “the Western Royal Mother,” with the extraordinary alternative of “King Mu (Mother) of the West,” and was explained as “a fabulous being of the female sex.” Mayers went on to say that “the more sober research of modern writers leads to a suggestion that Wang Mu was the name either of a region or of a sovereign in the ancient West.”

This last paragraph brought Mayers into line with Dr. Legge, who in his translation of those very doubtful documents, *The Bamboo Books*, had already said, “In his seventeenth year (B.C. 944), 穆王 King Mu went on a punitive expedition to mount Keun-luu, and saw the western Wang-moo. That year the chief of Wang-moo came to court.”

Faber, in his translation of *Lieh Tzu* (p. 61) calls *Si Wang Mu* “die Mutter des Westköniges.”

Professor Hirth, in his *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 43, gives “mother of the western king,” and on pp. 51, 82, 86, 87, and 95 “western king’s mother;” but on pp. 77, 292, he gives “the Hsi-wang-mu,” as though it were the name of a place, one of the “imaginary abodes,” as he says, “of a fairy queen.”

The Rev. E. J. Eitel, in the *China Review*, XVII, p. 233, says "These three characters (*Si-wang-nu*) probably are merely a transliteration of a name belonging to a polysyllabic non-Chinese language — also called *Si-wang-mu*." The above is from a note to Eitel's translation of the 穆天子傳 *Mu T'ien Tzǔ Chuan*, an account of the famous journey of King Mu to the west, undertaken early in the tenth century B.C. This work was "found in a tomb," and edited by a well-known scholar, named 荀勗 Hsün Hsü, who died A.D. 289; and Eitel is "convinced that the main portion of it is of a very ancient date (10th century, B.C.)." Not to mention that Hsün Hsü took a leading part in editing *The Bamboo Books*, which were also "found" in the same tomb, it may be stated that in the *Mu T'ien Tzǔ Chuan*, as pointed out by a keen native critic, "the sovereign is, while living, referred to under his posthumous name (Mu)." This only proves that the work in question is not a contemporary document, though, as the same critic goes on to say, well worth reading for its style. Professor Chavannes, however, considers its "authenticité" to be "bien établie" (*Journal Asiatique*, Janvier—Février, 1905).

Whatever may be the date of the work, we have in it a passage which says that on such and such a day King Mu 至于西王母之邦 "arrived at the country of Si Wang Mu," rendered by Eitel, "reached the people (called?) *Si-wang-mu*." But in the subsequent interview between King Mu and Si Wang Mu, the latter name is always rendered by Eitel as "(the chief) of *Si-wang-mu*."

Terrien de la Couperie, in his *Western Origin of the Early Civilisation of the Chinese*, p. 264, echoes the contention of Eitel that "there is nothing in any of the ancient texts on the subject to indicate that Si Wang-mu was a woman;" but on p. 273 he appears to urge that "the Si Wang-mus (whom he regards as a line of sovereigns) were queens." He further states (p. 278) that Wang-mu

is a corruption of Kam-mu (= Kuu-mo), the title of the sovereigns of the Wu-suu nations. He laughs (p. 264) at those "good Jesuits of the eighteenth century who have seriously suggested that the Royal Mother of the West was no other than the Queen of Sheba," spoken of by Christ as the "Queen of the South." This view however has been recently championed by Professor A. Forke of Berlin in a carefully-written and exhaustive pamphlet, entitled *Mu Wang und die Königin von Saba*, which appeared in 1904 but only came to my knowledge some two months ago, when this note had been already completed.

Professor E. Chavannes, of the Collège de France, in his translation of the 史記 *Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (vol. II, pp. 7, 8), points out that "Se-ma Ts'ien passe complètement sous silence le nom de Si-wang-mou," and "ne mentionne pas ce voyage lorsqu'il raconte le règne du roi Mou . . . . il en parle au contraire dans les Annales principales des Ts'in."

The following passage occurs in the monograph on 大宛 Ferghana in ch. 123 of the *Mémoires*:—"Old people in Parthia state that they have heard that in T'iao-chih (Chaldaea) there are the Weak Water and Si Wang Mu, but they have never seen them." Speaking of the *Mu T'ien Tzü Chuan* and of *Lieh Tzü*, Professor Chavannes says (p. 7), "Dans ces textes, le nom de Si-wang-mou est mentionné; mais il est le nom d'une tribu barbare de l'ouest et n'a plus d'importance que les autres noms géographiques cités dans la relation du voyage; le roi Mou visite le chef Si-wang-mou, de même que plusieurs autres princes de l'ouest."

In Professor De Groot's *Religious System of China*, ch. IV, p. 304, the author says, "the best of all sien-trees grew in the parks of Si Wang-mu, a mystic Queen of the Sien (= Immortals) living in a Paradise in the mysterious West . . . . Of traditional fame are certain peaches, which that fairy Queen deemed worth bringing, etc."

In the 爾雅註疏 *Erh Ya Chu Su*, ch. IX, we have 爭  
竹北戶西王母日下謂之四荒 "Hu-chu, Pei-hu, Si-  
wang-mu, and Jih-hsia, are called the Four Wilds." The commen-  
tator, 郭璞 Kuo P'o (d. A.D. 324), accepts this as authoritative in  
favour of a place-name; and 邢昺 Hsing Ping (d. A.D. 1010), who  
wrote the 疏 *Su*, adds 皆四方昏荒之國 "all these were  
wild countries in the N., S., W., and E., respectively." The date of  
the *Erh Ya* is not known. It has been ascribed to a disciple of  
Confucius, Pu Shang (5th cent. B.C.); but the great 朱熹 Chu Hsi  
(d. A.D. 1200) disposed of this ascription by a stroke of his pen:  
**不足據以爲古** "There is not sufficient ground for regarding  
it as an ancient work."

Chuang Tzū, who died some time in the 3rd cent. B.C., mentions  
Si Wang Mu. The passage occurs in the chapter entitled **大宗師**  
"The Great Supreme," and appears in my translation of Chuang Tzū's  
writings (1889), as follows:—"Hsi Wang Mu obtained Tao, and settled  
at Shao Kuang; since when, no one knows; until when, no one  
knows either.

*Note.* A lady,—or a place, for accounts vary,—around whose name innu-  
merable legends have gathered."

It is obvious, however, that the writer here meant a personage and  
not a place, and it is also significant, in regard to what is to follow,  
that the great Japanese commentator, Liu Ko-chai, says, **少廣神  
仙之居也** "Shao Kuang is the abode of the gods."

In the 後漢書 *Hou Han Shu*, "History of the Later Han  
Dynasty," A.D. 25—220, we have the following passage: 或云  
其國西有弱水流沙近西王母所居處幾於日  
所入也 "Some say that to the west of this country (Syria)  
there are the Weak Water and the Quicksands, near to the abode  
of Si Wang Mu, almost where the sun sets."

Si Wang Mu is also mentioned in the poems of 司馬相如 Ssü-ma Hsiang-ju (d. B. C. 117), 張衡 Chang Heng (d. A.D. 139), 馬融 Ma Jung (d. A.D. 160), 稽康 Hsi K'ang (d. A.D. 262), 李白 Li Po (d. A.D. 762), and 杜甫 Tu Fu (d. A. D. 771).

But it is now proposed to discard the theory that Si Wang Mu is either an historical personage, or a place-name, or the name of a tribe, and to consider solely the various traditions connected with these three mysterious words, assumed to be the designation of a woman.

The words "Si Wang Mu" occur in the *Shan Hai Ching* "Hill and Water Classic," a work of doubtful age. There we read, "The Jade Mountain (K'un-lun) is the abode of the Queen-Mother of the West. Her appearance is that of a human being. She has a panther's tail and a dog's teeth, and can howl loudly. Her hair hangs loose, and she wears a coronet. She presides over the calamities and punishments sent by God."

This however is said to be merely a form she can assume; 非王母之真形也 it is not Wang Mu's real shape.

A eulogy on Si Wang Mu, by Kuo P'o (d. A.D. 324), is quoted in the *P'ei Wen Yün Fu*, and the writer there speaks of her as 天地之女 "daughter of Heaven and Earth."

The 儂傳拾遺 *Hsien Chuan Shih I* "Omissions from Accounts of the Immortals," tells us that King Mu crossed the 弱水 *Jo Shui* "Weak Water" on a bridge made by turtles and so 登於春山 reached the Ch'ung mountain where he pledged Si Wang Mu on the 瑶池 Jasper Lake. It is also stated that a certain valuable glue, with which broken bowstrings might be mended, and which was one of the rarities belonging to Si Wang Mu, came from a place which 四面皆弱水遶也 "was surrounded on all sides by the Weak Water."

The "Weak Water," mentioned in the 書經 *Shu Ching* "Book of History," 史記 *Shih Chi* "Historical Record," and elsewhere, has always been quite as much a puzzle as the personality of Si Wang Mu herself.

King Mu was also said, when entertained by Si Wang Mu, to have eaten various fruits, among the rest 橘 *chū* oranges, all of which were 神仙之物 "supernatural things," so that 得不延期長生乎 "how could he fail to secure immortality?"—after which he and Si Wang Mu went up to heaven together on a cloud.

According to the 漢武帝內傳 *Han Wu Ti Nei Chuan* "Private Record of the Emperor Wu (B.C. 140–86) of the Hau Dynasty," attributed to 班固 Pan Ku (*d. A.D. 92*), Si Wang Mu is made to reappear on a visit to this monarch. In the fourth moon, we are told, of the first year of 元封 *Yüan Fēng* = B.C. 110, the Emperor was amusing himself in the Flowery Pavilion, in company with Tung-fang So and Tung Chung-shu, when suddenly there appeared a damsel dressed in blue-green clothes and of striking beauty. The Emperor was astonished, and asked her who she was, to which she replied, "I am a lady of the Palace, sent by Si Wang Mu to inform your Majesty that she has heard how little store you set by the things of this world, being anxious rather to accomplish your salvation and obtain eternal life, and how you are always praying to the great Mountains, and that she hopes to be able to impart to you some instructions. Wherefore purify yourself by fasting, and abstain from worldly affairs, and on the seventh day of the seventh moon Si Wang Mu will pay you a short visit." Then the Emperor knelt down and promised obedience, whereupon the damsel disappeared.

This young lady seems to have attracted particular attention, for in the 太平廣記 *Tai Ping Kuang Chi* she has an article all to herself, among "spiritual beings," headed 王母使者 Messenger of the Queen-Mother.

Accordingly, on the appointed day the Emperor made grand preparations with lamps and draperies and incense and grape-wine,

Introduced from Bactria about this date.

and at midnight a small white cloud was discerned, approaching from the south-west, with sounds of flutes and drums, and the noise of men and horses. Si Wang Mu had arrived, descending with her suite like a flight of rooks, some on dragons, some on tigers, some on storks, some in chariots, and others on winged horses.

Pegasus was first heard of, via Bactria, about this date.

On arrival, the attendants all vanished, leaving only Si Wang Mu seated in a chariot of purple clouds drawn by many-coloured dragons, and surrounded by fifty immortals from heaven, all over ten feet in height.

The foot of ancient China was much shorter than the modern measure. Two beautiful girls of sixteen or seventeen assisted Si Wang Mu into the pavilion. She wore a magnificent coronet and carried a sword, and appeared to be about thirty years of age, of medium height, and of dazzling beauty,—truly, as the writer says, a 灵人 divine being. Si Wang Mu provided the meal from 天厨 the kitchens of heaven, and among other dainties were 芝 the plant of immortality and an exquisite wine such as 非地上所有 is not to be obtained on earth. There was also a dish of seven peaches, the size of duck's eggs, four of which she gave to the Emperor, eating three herself. The Emperor, finding the fruit much to his taste, kept his stones, with a view, as he explained, to planting them. Si Wang Mu, however, said that her peach-trees only bore fruit once in three thousand years, and that the soil of China was too poor. These peaches came from a garden belonging to Si Wang Mu, which was kept carefully guarded, inasmuch as the fruit was not only rare, but conferred immortality on those who ate of it.

In the accompanying picture of Si Wang Mu, taken from the 圖書集成 *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* (where it is wrongly said to be

西王母圖 此圖據三才圖會



copied from the 三才圖會 *San Ts'ai T'u Hui*, the picture in the latter being somewhat different), she is represented with a certain bird, two of which are also seen over her head in the famous sculptures of the second century,

See *La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine*, by Professor Chavannes.

where Si Wang Mu is depicted in the act of receiving King Mu in audience. These birds have been called by the Chinese by the two names of two distinct birds, both fabulous, namely 鳳 *féng* and 鶯 *luan*. Thus, the poet T'ao Yüan-ming (A.D. 365–427) says,

The divine *féng* dances among the clouds,  
The spiritual *luan* trills its pure notes;  
Although these rarities are not of this world,  
Yet they were beloved by [Si] Wang Mu.

In the 拾遺記 *Shih I Chi*, of the fourth century A.D., both names are used in connection with Si Wang Mu; in the 洞冥記 *Tung Ming Chi* and in the *Han Wu Nei Chuan* above quoted, only the *luan* is mentioned.

The *féng* and the *luan* are both figured in the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng*, and I am authorised by Professor A. Newton, the eminent ornithologist, to say that, in his opinion, the former could only be the work of some artist who had seen a peacock, and especially the *Paro cristatus* of India Proper. In like manner Professor Newton thinks that the *luan* is based upon an acquaintance with the Argus pheasant, found in Borneo and Malacca. Thus, it is most probable that the two fabulous birds of the Chinese are simply these two real birds, with such supernatural attributes as would be likely to gather around them from hearsay. They were both auspicious birds, and only appeared when the country was well governed. The *luan* was said to rank 鳳鳥之亞 "second to the *féng*;" and we are

told in the "Mirror of History" that on one occasion (A.D. 615) two peacocks were 奏以爲鸞 "reported to the Emperor as *luan*."

In a note on a poem by 范泰 Fan T'ai of the Sung dynasty, who died A.D. 427, and also in the 爾雅翼 *Erh Ya I*, we have the following story:—"Formerly, a king of Chi-pin (*Kapani*) secured a *luan*, to which he became much attached. He wanted to make it 鳴 sing, but could not succeed; so he put it into a golden cage and fed it on choice food, and for three years redoubled his efforts to make it sing, all without avail. Then the king's wife said, I have heard that birds will sing when they see one of their own species. Why not hang up a mirror to give a reflection of it? The king followed this advice; and when the *luan* saw itself, it uttered a piercing cry, and soaring upwards, was soon lost to sight in the clouds."

Altogether, it seems clear that Si Wang Mu's bird was really a 孔 peacock, which is said to have been known to the Chinese so early as the twelfth century B.C., when, according to the *Erh Ya I*, it appeared as tribute sent to 成王 King Ch'êng of the Chou dynasty. It is also mentioned in the same work as being, like the *luan*, "second to the *fêng*," and as obtainable in the third century A.D. from Khoten. In the 漢書 "History of the Han Dynasty," two peacocks

which must have been the variety found in Java.

are said to have been sent as tribute in B.C. 179 by 趙佗 Chao T'o, king of Yüeh; hence the popular name for the peacock, 南客 "guest from the south." The Sauskrit term for peacock is recorded as 摩由邏 *mo-yu-lo* = *mayûra*; and the Chinese word *k'ung* is explained in the 說文 *Shuo Wen*, circa A.D. 100, as 乙 the bird which brings 子 children, and is therefore associated with offspring. It is also said 因雷聲而孕 "to conceive at the sound of thunder."

In order to establish his thesis that Si Wang Mu was the Queen of Sheba, Professor Forke (p. 135) has to identify the *fêng* (or *fêng-huang*) phoenix

鳳凰圖



with the ostrich, partly on the ground that the character 鳳 is the modern form of 鳳 *p'êng*, the rukh, a big bird which he thinks was based upon the ostrich. Partly, also (p. 130), because the *fêng-huang* is said by Wang Ch'ung, A.D. 27—97, to have been five feet in height and as big as a horse, which he thinks would be about the equivalent height of an ostrich. This height Professor Forke admits to be "about two metres," i. e. over six feet; the height of the ostrich however varies from six to eight feet. Here Professor Forke seems to me to have unduly stretched his lines.

(1) The *Shuo Wén* does not say that 鳳 is "the old form of *fêng*," but that it is "also an old form of *fêng*,"—a very different matter. The old form of *fêng*, as given by the *Shuo Wén*, was 鳴 = associates or followers, explained as referring to the myriad birds which always followed a flight of phoenixes. The radical 鳥 was of course a later addition. Further, the *p'êng* rukh first appears in Chinese literature in the pages of Chuang Tzû, 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., ages after the *fêng* phoenix had become a familiar term; and as its back is described as "many thousand *li* in breadth," it may safely be regarded as a creation of that writer's brain.

(2) Professor Forke has taken the foot of the Han dynasty as equal to the foot of modern China, whereas it must have been considerably less, or other measurements would come out absurdly. The ordinary foot of the Han dynasty, so far as it can be calculated, seems to have been about 8 inches English, which fits in well enough with the heights assigned to Chinese horses in early days, namely, 6 to 8 feet: 六尺以上曰馬、八尺以上曰龍, and even with the height of Confucius, which has been given as 9 ft. 6 inches = Eng. 6 ft. 6 inches—a very tall Chinaman.

(3) When translating the Chinese word 馬 *ma*, Professor Forke evidently had in his mind the European horse, and not the small Ssüch'uan breed known in China, which runs down to as low as 11 hands. Even the Mongolian breed, probably not known to Wang Ch'ung, would only average about 13 hands, = (English) 4 feet 4 in.—scarcely the height of an ostrich—whereas the 韓詩外傳 *Han shih wai chuan*, quoted by Professor Forke, gives the height of the *fêng* as only (Chinese) 4 feet 5 inches. Further, the phoenix is said by Wang Ch'ung to be 五色 *wu sè* "five-coloured;" to suit which Professor Forke (p. 138), while admitting that the feathers of the ostrich are not "five-coloured," proceeds to argue that the five colours can all, with the exception of blue, be found in different parts of the ostrich's body, and even the missing blue in one particular species of ostrich.

(4) The ostrich is figured in the *T'u shu chi ch'êng*, and is correctly described as having 脚二指 two toes, with 毛 feathers like the hair of a camel. It thus differs *toto coelo* from the *fêng huang* (see illustration),

which is said to fly, to settle on trees, and to have a 音激揚 very shrill voice.

Among the sculptures above-mentioned, there is a representation of 東方公 *Tung fang kung*, the "King-Father of the East," the husband of Si Wang Mu, sitting majestically on a central throne in heaven, surrounded by winged attendants, winged horses, chariots, etc., and having Si Wang Mu on his left. His personal name, we are told in the 三才圖會, was 倪 *I*, and his style was 君明 *chün ming*, which may stand for "ruler of the bright [sky]," in reference to the east. Husband and wife were said to 共理二氣 調成天地 "manage conjointly the male and female powers of nature and arrange the harmony of heaven and earth," from which harmony such blessings as rain or fair weather result, each in due season, to man.

Professor Chavannes (*La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine*, p. 64) says, "Si Wang-mou..... doit avoir été à l'origine le chef de quelque tribu de l'Asie centrale; la légende la transforma peu à peu et lui donna tous les attributs d'un mythe solaire; c'est pour compléter ce mythe qu'on a inventé le roi d'Orient." Among the attributes of the latter may be mentioned a large bird.

To sum up. Si Wang Mu, "a daughter of Heaven and Earth," has almost always been regarded as a woman by the Chinese. That may be gathered from our picture, and from other sources mentioned; and that she was a goddess may be inferred from the place among 神仙 "spirits and immortals" assigned to her in all encyclopaedias. She was dazzlingly beautiful. She dwelt on a mountain in the far west, above the clouds. Thus, in the annexed picture, where she is dressed in Chinese fashion, she is seen standing on clouds, and in the above account of her visit to the Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty she is described as descending from heaven. In one place we are told that her domain 有弱水周廻繞市 "is surrounded by the Weak Water;" in another that 其山之下弱水九

重洪濤萬丈非翻車羽輪不可到也 “at the foot of the mountain runs the nine-fold stream of the Weak Water, its vast waters ten myriad feet in width, so that without a flying chariot and winged wheels it would be impossible to cross.” She had a carefully-guarded garden of peaches which conferred immortality.

In the illustration, an attendant is seen carrying a dish of these “peaches.” The food which she provided from the kitchens of heaven was also associated with immortality. She sent a female messenger, dressed in blue-green, to bear her commands down to earth. She was attended by handmaids. She wore a coronet or headdress.

As seen in the sculptures. In the illustration her hair is dressed in Chinese style. She was evidently possessed of considerable power. She was attended by a peacock, which bird was associated with offspring, and she had a husband who was apparently a great heavenly potentate, who was represented with a large bird, and who with her assistance ruled over the powers of nature.

Is there any personage who answers in any sense to the above?

Hera, or Juno, was a goddess, the grand-daughter of Uranus and Gaea (Heaven and Earth), and possessed of great beauty. She dwelt on Mount Olympus, in the far west (of China), above the clouds. She had a husband who was King of the Gods, and whose special weapon was the thunderbolt, and their domain was surrounded by Oceanus. She had a carefully-guarded garden of apples which conferred immortality. The food and drink she was accustomed to use were  $\alpha\mu\beta\rho\sigma\eta\ \kappa\tau\iota\ \nu\epsilon\kappa\tau\alpha\eta\ \epsilon\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\sigma\eta$  “ambrosia and red nectar,” the former of which was particularly associated with immortality. She had a special female messenger, Iris, the rainbow, whom she sent with her commands to earth:—

. . . . .  $\kappa\tau\mu\kappa\ \tau\eta\eta\ \nu\epsilon\kappa\eta\ \lambda\alpha\tau\rho\eta\eta$   
"Iris" . . . . .

*Hercules Furens*, 822.

It was Iris whom Juno despatched to release the struggling soul of unhappy Dido:—

Ergo Iris croceis per coelum roscida pennis,  
Mille trahens varios aduerso sole colores,  
Devolat, et supra caput astitit.

She wore a coronet or headdress,

See the *Ludovisi Hera* in the "Dictionary of Classical Antiquities" by Nettleship and Sandys.

and she was attended by the Hours. She had a husband, *Zeuς* (Sanskrit, *Dyaus* the bright sky), who was the bringer of light, and the cause of dawn, *νεφεληγερέτα* the cloud-gatherer, the general superintendent of the powers of nature, and the masculine representative of those natural forces, the feminine aspect of which was symbolised by herself. She came to be represented with a peacock, the *Paro cristatus*, which is especially the peacock of Juno; and as Juno among the Romans she was worshipped as *Lucina*, the goddess of childbirth.

If these are mere coincidences, it may be added that the peaches of Si Wang Mu are not described as the ordinary 桃, but as 蟠桃, a term still in use for the "flat peach", which is often very like an apple in shape. There is, however, a great possibility that 蟠 (also read *fan*) 桃 stands for what was originally 番桃 "barbarian peaches," a term for the apple, which fruit is very much unknown in China, except in the north 蘋出北 whence they come. A curious point is that apples are said to 解愁 "dissipate grief," which is precisely what is said in the 西陽雜俎 *Yu Yang Tsa Tsu* about the particular kind of peach known as the "Si Wang Mu Peach:" 王母甘桃食解勞 "the sweet peach of Wang Mu will dissipate trouble."

Again, the term 弱水, hitherto translated "weak water" (which is meaningless), should be "Sluggish stream," by analogy with 行弱 "to walk feebly," (*Tso Chuan*, 昭公, 7th year) said of a man

who 足不良 "had a bad foot," and could not walk fast. And this appears to be a very obvious meaning of  $\beta\alpha\theta\upsilon\pi\pi\alpha\varsigma$  and  $\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\rho\pi\iota\tau\varsigma$ , both of which are Homeric epithets of Oceanus, slowness of movement being usually associated with vast masses of water.

'Εξ ἀκαλαρρειταο βαθυππου ὠκεανοῖο

Classical scholars still persist in such renderings of the former epithet as "deep-flowing," which only shirks the difficulty, or "deep and flowing," which is barely an improvement, and "brimming," which seems to be dragged in at all costs just to show that the compound can yield some intelligible sense. Yet  $\beta\alpha\theta\upsilon\pi\pi\alpha\varsigma$  is also an epithet of  $\chiρόν\alpha\varsigma$  time, and a reference to this effect (*Synes. H. 9. 61*) is given in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, *s. v.*, but without translation. On turning up the Hymns of Synesius, edited by Dionysius Petavius (Paris, 1612), the following passage appeared:—

Ἐντε οὐτε βαθύππος  
Ακαμαντοπόδας χρόνος  
Χέονδος ἔκγονα σύρων

Which means

Where neither slow-rolling  
Unweary-footed Time,  
Carrying off the offspring of Earth . . . . .

Petavius, who was the "interpres" of these lines into Latin, evidently did not know what to make of  $\beta\alpha\theta\upsilon\pi\pi\alpha\varsigma$ , and the best he could do for the three words was "*immensum indefessumque tempus*." But slowness of movement in water is popularly associated with depth in more languages than Greek. In English we have

Still waters run deep

and in Chinese the saying

水深流去慢  
人貴語話遲

Deep water is slow to run,  
A superior man is slow to speak.

Oceanus, however, does not flow nine times around the world;  
it is the river Styx

.... tristique palus inamabilis unda  
Alligat, et novies Styx interfusa coercet.  
Virg. *Aeneid*, VI, 438.

which flows nine times around Hades, not around the world:—

Where the soul-boat glides  
O'er the nine dull tides  
With death's daily countless mass . . . .

But this discrepancy may easily be accounted for by the confusion of two legends; the extraordinary feature is the mention, in this connection, of a stream which girdles the domain of Si Wang Mu nine times. Similarly, in one of the sculptures where Si Wang Mu appears, there are animals with human heads, evidently centaurs, who have nothing particular to do with Hera, but whose appearance in Chinese art helps to establish the hypothesis of Greek influence.

The "Weak Water" is first mentioned in the "Book of History" (Tribute of Yü), which must have been compiled many centuries before any tradition of Oceanus could possibly have reached China. There was, in fact, a river of that name (later on 漱水) away beyond the extreme limits of the empire on the far west, of which next to nothing was known; and this particular river seems to have become associated with Si Wang Mu simply because some slow-flowing stream was necessary to complete the legend. Chinese scholiasts, however, like their colleagues of the west in regard to *βαθύπεπος*, have missed the point of slowness of motion, and have provided a much more far-fetched explanation, namely, that the stream is called the Weak Water because its water 鳥毛不能載也 "is not strong enough to support even a goose's feather."

Professor Forke (*op. cit.* p. 150) says, "By the term Weak Water, following Bretschneider, I understand the Dead Sea." Now Bretschneider wrongly states that the Chinese call this water weak because it has so

little buoyancy that only feather weights will swim on it. This however not being applicable to the Dead Sea, but rather the reverse, he declares that the Chinese themselves have altered the real facts concerning Dead Sea water into exactly the opposite sense (see Hirth's *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 291, where this identification is rightly denounced). Bretschneider goes on to suggest that *Jo shui* (Weak Water) is simply a phonetic reproduction of the river *Jo-rdan*, which flows into the Dead Sea.

Again, Zeus being the father of gods and men, Hera was inferentially the mother. Also, a common Homeric title of hers is *πότνια* "Queen," and in No. 12 of the Homeric hymns she is called *ἀθανάτων βασίλεια* "Queen of the Gods." So here we have complete the "Queen-Mother of the West."

Further, it is possible that the *Si* of Si Wang Mu, probably pronounced in the second century B.C. more like *sei* (= say), may simply be the first syllable of Hera, taken in accordance with Chinese monosyllabic custom to represent the whole name. For that the Greek aspirate at one time passed into *s* may be seen from such examples as *ἄλει, sal, ἔδος, sedes, ὑπνος, somnus, ὕλη, silva*, and, I should like to be able to add "H[fx]"—which has been referred to the Sanskrit *svar* "the sky"—*Sei*, the first syllable of Si Wang Mu.

Professor Forke (p. 120) makes the  in Si Wang Mu (old sound *se* or *sac*) = the *Se* in the Arabic *Seba* (*Sabaea*).

So too *Zeus* became *Dioris*, and later on *Iovis*: and without wishing to press unduly in this direction, it may fairly be mentioned again, that the personal name of the husband of Si Wang Mu is stated by the Chinese to have been  *I* (pronounced as in French or Italian). Also, that the portrait of the grave old gentleman given in the *San Ts'ai T'u Hui* as the portrait of the King-Father of the East may possibly be a far-off semblance of some presentation of Olympian Jove.

These pages were already in the hands of the printer when I received Vol. V of Professor Chavannes' *Mémoires Historiques de Sc-ma Ts'ien*, pp. 480—489 of which he devotes to a note on Si Wang Mu. In this note

the writer does not put forward any new view as to the name of Si Wang Mu, "que je tiens pour être à l'origine le nom d'une tribu barbare de l'ouest." He says (p. 479) that the *Bamboo Books* "nous semblent être un livre d'une authenticité incontestable," which will lead me to reconsider my "very doubtful documents" of page 1; though in the present case the authenticity or otherwise of the *Bamboo Books* has no bearing on the subject. He admits (p. 483) that there is "une partie du *Mou t'ien tse tchouan* dont l'authenticité me semble suspecte," namely, the poetry; and finally performs a real service by showing, almost to demonstration, (p. 487) that "le vrai héros du *Mou t'ien tse tchouan* est, non le roi *Mou*, de la dynastie *Tch'ou*, mais son homonyme, le duc *Mou*, de *Ts'in*, qui régna de 659 à 621 av. J.-C. .... ce qui explique pourquoi, dans le titre de la relation, le prince figure avec son nom posthume *Mou*." This disposes at once of the 10th century theory, though of course it does not prove that the history of the famous journey dates even from B.C. 621.

## WHAT IS FILIAL PIETY?

In the second of the twenty short chapters which contain almost all that is known of the sayings and doings of Confucius, and which form that one of the Four Books known as the 論語 *Lun Yü*, occur two characters,—*σήματα λύγα* indeed to many generations of Chinese scholars, native and foreign alike. The two characters are of considerable importance, involving as they do an answer given by Confucius to the question of a disciple,—What is filial piety?

This particular question is immediately preceded by two others, all three couched in identical terms, suggested by three different individuals. The answer to the first has been stigmatised by Dr. Legge in his *Chinese Classics* as "enigmatical," a view with which no one who reads his translation is likely to disagree. 孟武伯問孝，子曰、父母唯其疾之憂 "Mang Woo asked what filial piety was. The Master said, Parents are anxious lest their children should be sick."

This rendering is based upon the exegesis of 朱熹 Chu Hsi, A.D. 1130—1200, which has been officially substituted throughout the Confucian Canon for the exegesis of earlier scholars, from K'ung Au-kuo, 2nd century B.C., downwards. Here Chu Hsi adds the gloss, "Therefore children should take care of their persons;" the result being a reply on altogether a lower plane than that which has conferred immortality upon Confucian utterances, and certainly even than that adopted by the older commentators, "Let your parents

have no anxieties save those arising from your sicknesses," which is undoubtedly the correct interpretation.

In the second instance Dr. Legge translates 子游問孝、  
子曰、今之孝者是謂能養、至於犬馬皆能有  
養、不敬、何以別乎 "Tsze-yew asked what filial piety was. The Master said, The filial piety of now-a-days means the support of one's parents. But dogs and horses likewise are able to do something in the way of support;—without reverence, what is there to distinguish the one support given from the other?"

Here Dr. Legge has taken the older interpretation, which he says is better. To me it seems absurd to think of Confucius as arguing that dogs and horses are able to do something in the way of support of their sires. Chu Hsi, who in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred improves upon the older scholars, now puts a rational interpretation before us. He explains the answer to mean that filial piety cannot consist in mere support of parents, "for dogs and horses also get support from us; unless there is reverence, where would there be any difference?"

The object however of this note is rather to call attention to the third instance in which the same question is propounded. 子夏問孝、子曰 Tzü-hsia asked what is filial piety. Confucius said "色難 *Sé nan.*" The question is, and has been for twenty centuries past, What do these two characters mean?

According to the 說文 *Shuo Wén*, the oldest Chinese dictionary, 1st century A.D., the former character originally meant "facial expression, as seen in sorrow or in joy;" and so it came to mean the countenance, colour, beauty (like *color* in Latin), anger, lust, sort, kind, quality, etc.,—a most elusive word. The latter character means "difficult."

Now come the commentators. The old explanation of the Han scholars was at any rate brief: 承順其親之顏色爲難

"To apprehend and to act in harmony with the facial expression of one's parents is difficult." This interpretation, says 張甄陶 Chang Chén-t'ao, a scholar of the 18th century, who wrote the **四書翼註論文**, "was well changed by Chu Hsi; for it is not the countenance which presents any difficulty, but the heart."

Another scholar of about the same date, 王步青 Wang Puch'ing, who wrote the **四書本義匯參**, thought that the old explanation was 亦通 "also adequate," though he adopted, as the more satisfactory, that of Chu Hsi.

Chu Hsi's note on the passage is as follows: 色難謂事親之際惟色爲難也……蓋孝子之有深愛者、必有和氣、有和氣者、必有愉色、有愉色者、必有婉容、故事親之際惟色爲難耳.

"*Sé nan* means that at the time of waiting on one's parents it is the facial expression which is the difficulty . . . . . For the fact that a filial son has deep love causes him to have a sympathetic feeling; this feeling causes him to have a happy expression; and this expression causes him to wear a pleasing look; therefore, when waiting on one's parents, the only difficulty is with the countenance."

The above is made somewhat clearer for the benighted foreigner in a little work entitled **二論啓幼引端**, prepared by a scholar of the 19th century, named 劉忠 Liu Chung, for the express use of beginners. There we read 色是臉上有和悅的顏色、難是不易有也. "*Sé* means having a sympathetic and pleased expression on the face; *nan* means that it is difficult to have this."

The writer goes on to say, 蓋人內有一分愛父母的心思、外便有一分和悅的顏色、內有十分深愛、外便有十分悅色、若無深愛便無悅色、是假性不來的、所以爲難. "If in a man's heart

there is one part (of ten) love for his parents, on his face there will be one part sympathetic and pleased expression; if ten parts, then ten parts; but if there is no such love, there will be no such expression; and the difficulty will lie in trying to assume it."

Thus it may be said that according to the old school the difficulty in practising filial piety is to find out from your parents' expression what they really want; while according to the modern school the difficulty is to show your parents that peculiar expression which comes only on the faces of those who are inspired by deep love.

It may now be interesting to note what foreign translators have done, like the dogs and horses of the old school, "in the way of support" for either side.

In *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, translated by P. Intorcetta, S.J., and others, Paris, 1687 (p. 12), we have the following early attempt to deal with our text:—

"Discipulus *gù hiá* similiter quaestionem instituit de obedientia filiali. Confucius respondet: Oris alacritas, sive constans alacritas illa filialis obedientiae quae adest in ipsa fronte totoque ore amantis ac reverentis filii reluceat, difficilis est illa quidem, sed profecto nota propè certa verae germanaeque virtutis."

In *The Works of Confucius*, translated by J. Marshman, Serampore, 1809 (p. 97), we have what is scarcely an improvement on the diffuse Jesuit, and is evidently from a "teacher," not from a commentary:—

"Chee-ha enquired respecting filial piety.

Chee says, 'It is difficult indeed.'"

In a note we read, "Or, 'the manner is difficult.'  
*Suk* denotes colour, manner, etc."

Marshman's own commentary on the above runs thus:—" 'Difficult indeed,' that is, the manner is difficult in which parents should be served."

In the *Chinese Classics*, by Dr. Legge, 1861 (p. 12), we have, "Tsze-hea asked what filial piety was. The Master said, The difficulty is with the countenance." This is followed by a note headed, "The duties of filial piety must be performed with a cheerful face,"—an exegesis which seems to establish a school of its own.

Sir Thomas Wade, who denounced Legge's magnificent work as "wooden," produced the following, professedly in accordance with the Han dynasty school, in his *Lun Yü, Being Utterances of Kung* (sic) *Tzü*, 1869 (p. 8):—

"Tzü Hsia asked [the Teacher] touching filial piety. The Teacher said: The difficulty is in the bearing of the child [his outward manifestations of the dutious feeling]."

In a footnote we are told that the modern "teacher," in whose words Sir Thomas Wade was ever too ready to swear, "describes the difficulty to be this: in every station of life there is a demeanour, proper to each, to be assumed; this must be laid aside before one's parent and elder, and the inner feeling made more apparent, yet not familiarly nor irreverently,"—all of which, so far as it is intelligible, is of course based upon Chu Hsi and not upon the Han school.

In the *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae*, by A. Zottoli, S.J., 1879 (p. 217), we have the following, which standing as it does, without annotation of any kind, seems unintelligible.

"Tse hia quaesivit de pietate filiali: Philosophus ait: oris alacritas, difficilis.'

In *Les Quatre Livres*, by S. Couvreur, S.J., 1895 (p. 79), we have a bilingual version, as follows:—

Tzeu hia ayant interrogé sur la piété filiale, le Maître répondit: Il est difficile de tromper par un faux semblant de piété filiale.

Tzeu hia interrogavit de pietate filiali. Magister ait: Species (pietatis filialis) difficile induitur (id est, pietatis filialis specie decipere difficillimum est).

In *The Discourses and Sayings of Confucius*, by Ku Hung-ming, 1898 (p. 9), we have the following, also without note of any kind:—

“Another disciple asked the same question. Confucius answered, The difficulty is the expression of your look.”

All the above interpretations and translations betray, on the part of the native commentator a singular want of flexibility, on the part of the foreign translator too servile a deference to stereotyped views, hallowed, not by critical insight, but by centuries alone.

It may seem presumptuous after the above exordium to declare that the meaning of these two characters lies, à la Bill Stumps, upon the surface, and that all you have to do, as the poet says, is to

俯拾卽是  
不取諸鄰

Stoop, and there it is;  
Seek it not right nor left!

When Tzü-hsia asked Confucius, “What is filial piety?” the latter replied simply,

“色 to define it 難 is difficult,”

a most intelligible and appropriate answer.

The character 色 comes to mean “define” through the very simple steps of “sort” or “kind,” and then—as every Chinese character can be a verb, substantive, or other part of speech, with equal ease—“to sort,” “to arrange under sorts,” “to place in the proper category,” “to define.” *Solvuntur tabulae.*



## ART THOU THE CHRIST?

The publication, in my "Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art," 1905, of a certain woodcut here reproduced, has given rise to some discussion as to the subject intended by the artist. By the great unwashed of China's millions this subject has been generally accepted as a kind of pictorial harmony of their three leading Gospels, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism,—such being the order of precedence authorised in A.D. 574 by Imperial Edict,—the three figures being those of the founders, Confucius, Lao Tzū, and Buddha.



The legend attached to the picture—

函 三 爲 一  
Han san wei i

—has been explained, in accordance with this popular view, to mean that the Gospels in question, though to outward appearances three, are in reality one in aim, that aim being the welfare of the human race.

Taoism and Buddhism have long since flourished peaceably side by side, and have even borrowed so much from one another that a tyro will often have trouble to distinguish between the two. This, however, has not always been the case. In past centuries there was a long struggle for the mastery; and according to the bias of the Court of the day, sometimes one and sometimes the other would be alternately blessed and banued.

The first Emperor of the Liang dynasty, who reigned A.D. 502—549, was a devout Buddhist. He lived upon priestly fare, and even wore the dress of a priest. He interpreted the Buddhist commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," in its strictest sense, and caused the sacrificial victims to be made of dough. In 824, another Emperor died from swallowing the Taoist elixir of life. In 845 Taoism was still the favoured faith; 4,600 Buddhist temples were destroyed, and 260,500 priests and nuns were forced to return to lay life, together with 2,000 fire-worshippers or followers of Mazlémism. In 859, the Emperor Hsüan Tsung restored Buddhism to its former position. And so on. Occasionally, as in 574, subsequent to the establishment of precedence above-mentioned, both religions would lie under the same interdict, which, it must be carefully noted, was never extended to Confucianism. Even the most infatuated among the Imperial devotees of Taoism or Buddhism never dared to do more than be lukewarm towards the teachings of Confucius, although these were of course fatally antagonistic to the superstitions of the other two. A Confucianist of the type of Han Yü, who presented an objectionable memorial begging the Emperor not to worship a bone of Buddha, would receive such punishment as transfer to an out-of-the-way post; but those who in religious matters left the Court alone, were left alone themselves.

A *modus vivendi*, then, for the rival champions of Taoism and Buddhism, would seem to be a most desirable consummation, whereas Confucianism was on a different footing altogether.

We may now come to the picture itself, which has been taken from a volume of woodcuts, printed, according to a note at the end, in the year 1588. The title of the collection is 方氏墨譜 *Fang shih mo p'u*, and it consists of six volumes, averaging thirty-three leaves of pictures and three leaves of index to each. It was published by a man named 方于魯 *Fang Yü-lu* (T. 建元), whose family appear to have been makers of the highly-scented and artistically-decorated cakes of ink which used to be known, and may perhaps still be known, in England as "Indian Ink." The woodcuts are reproductions of pictures, ancient and modern, employed in the decoration of these cakes. Some of them are signed by well-known artists; and others, though not signed, can still be referred to their proper sources. Thus, on page 3 of volume IV we have a basket of flowers, signed 左干 *Tso-kan* = 吳廷 *Wu Ting* of the Ming dynasty; on page 6 of volume V, a picture of 三車 *San chā* the Three Conveyances (*Trivâna*), signed 南羽 *Nan-yü* = 丁雲鵬 *Ting Yün-p'êng* of the Ming dynasty; on page 21 *verso* of volume V, a picture of "Brushing an Elephant," without signature but with a side-note which reads 唐閻立本掃象圖 "Picture of Brushing an Elephant, by 閻立本 *Yen Li-pêun* of the T'ang dynasty;" and finally the picture under consideration, without signature or guidance of any kind beyond the legend quoted above.

During the seventh century, there flourished at the capital of China two famous painter brothers, named Yen, both of whom are known to have painted many pictures of the numerous foreigners who thronged the Chinese Court upon the establishment of a new and enlightened dynasty. Some of the aliens thus painted were bearers of tribute from various vassal nations; others were Arabs, and

Nestorians seeking converts to Christianity, subsequently known to the Chinese as **景教** the Luminous Doctrine. On page 40 of my book, the following passage will be found:—

From the pencil of one or other of the brothers Yen comes in all probability the picture of "A Man of Ta-ch'in" (Syria), as seen in the "Account of Strange Nations," a fourteenth-century copy of which is in the University Library at Cambridge. Also the very curious woodcut, entitled "Three in One," consisting of a figure of Christ, a Nestorian priest kneeling at his feet with one hand upraised in benediction, and another priest standing behind. Nestorian Christianity soon disappeared from China, leaving the famous Tablet in Si-nan Fu as a witness that it had reached the Far East,—an honour which must in future be shared by this unpretending picture, which contributes one more to the early portraits of Christ.

Under date 11th August, 1905, a reviewer in the Literary Supplement of *The Times*, who skilfully combined courtesy with criticism, made the following remarks:—

An astonishing misconception which cannot be passed over is founded on a sixteenth-century woodcut of a circular cake of ink, which is reproduced on page 37, and which, it is strangely claimed, "contributes one more to the early portraits of Christ," in that it is labelled "Hsan San Wei Yi," "One in Three." The group of three figures on this curious engraving is presumed by the author to consist of Christ and two Nestorian priests. But the supposed Christ is surely the Buddha, recognized by his curly hair with the tonsure, earrings, bare feet, and by the peculiar canonical way in which the *kashaya* is worn so as to leave the right arm bare; the tall figure in the background is Confucius, with the traditional features of the famous portrait by Wu Tao-yuan cut in stone at the Confucian temple in Shantung; the third figure, also standing, is Lao Tzū, with left hand raised, as if discoursing, while he holds his special attribute, a roll, grasped in his right hand. The triad in this group, it is suggested with some confidence, is really composed of the founders of the three great religions of China, which are often declared in native parlance to be one. If so, it has no part in the Christian Trinity.

This view was echoed by a Mr. Berthold Laufer in *The New York Evening Post* of 16th September, 1905, coupled with some quite unnecessary sneers and insinuations, to which I should have paid no attention whatever but for the fact that on the 7th July preceding, Mr.

Laufer had written and asked me for a free copy of the book in question,— an application which, in my ignorance of any claim on the part of Mr. Laufer to be supplied gratuitously with my books, I felt myself constrained to refuse. The above incident, however, shall not prevent me from giving due weight to Mr. Laufer's arguments as set forth by himself:—

The representation in the picture in question is a very well-known subject in Chinese art, and readily understood by every Chinaman. It is styled "Picture of the Three Saints," who are Confucius, Laotse, and Buddha. The underlying idea in the combination of these representatives of the three principal religions of China is to symbolize the close association of the three creeds in the minds of the people, which is the meaning of the phrase translated by Giles "Three in One." The personage taken by Giles for Christ is unmistakably the figure of Buddha, with the characteristic tonsure of the head, barefooted, and robed in the garb of an Indian monk—an exact copy of the well-known Buddha statues and paintings of India. In no representation of Christ is He pictured with a tonsure. The "kneeling Nestorian priest" of Mr. Giles is Laotse, who is not kneeling at all, but standing erect; and the other "Nestorian priest" behind him is Confucius. .... Representations similar to this picture of the three saints are very frequent in Chinese and Japanese art, and are found also in temples in the form of sculptures. A splendid colored woodcut of this motive after a painting by Masanobu Kanō (1433—90), is given in the fourth number of the *Kokka*, a Japanese journal devoted to art and archaeology.

The original woodcut reproduced in Giles's book is not older than the middle of the sixteenth century. Without giving any reason or explanation, Mr. Giles attributes it to the end of the seventh century, and connects it with the name of a certain painter, Yen, of that period.

Before proceeding, I may point out (1) that "without giving any reason or explanation," in other words "authority," Mr. Laufer states that the woodcut in question "is styled Picture of the Three Saints;" and (2) that it "is not older than the middle of the sixteenth century."

The "Confucius, Lao Tzū, and Buddha," theory is of course ancient history, and was discarded by me in face of the arguments which I shall now try to set forth as succinctly as possible. These

may be divided into (1) Artistic and (2) Linguistic, and may be taken conveniently in this order.

I.—To begin with, the three figures occupy very different positions, and yield very different values in a group which, to take my critics' view, is to exhibit the oneness of the doctrines professed by the three Teachers. "Buddha" completely dominates the scene, and it must be plain to any one that the other two are in more or less deferential, if not reverential, attitudes. "Lao Tzū" is, in my opinion, a kneeling figure, the little toe-points being a later addition by the wood-engraver, when the kneeling position began to fade under repeated cuttings. He is moreover holding up a hand with the sign of benediction (unnoticed by the above critics), a gesture not to be found in any of the known portraits of Lao Tzū, nor indeed, so far as my search has gone, in any Chinese portraits of any worthies, native or foreign alike. The nearest thing to it is found, curiously enough, in images of Buddha. I have looked through the 三才圖會 *San ts'ai t'u hui*, and the 古聖賢像傳畧 *Ku shéng hsien hsiang chuan lüeh*; nowhere have I been able to find anything of the kind. "Lao Tzū" has also a very marked tonsure, and is almost identical in feature with the colourless figure standing behind him, who does duty for "Confucius,"—a mistake hardly likely to be committed by a Chinese artist. I have examined what may be called the authentic portraits of Confucius in such works as the 聖廟志輯要 *Shéng miao chih chi yao*, the 聖廟祀典圖考 *Shéng miao ssü tien t'u k'ao*, and the 聖蹟圖 *Shéng chi t'u*, but again I fail to find any striking resemblance. This of course proves nothing, as no two portraits of Christ are much alike; even the position of Christ on the cross, about which unanimity might be expected, is differently portrayed by different artists. The accompanying pictures of (1) Confucius in official dress and (2) in ordinary teaching costume, and (3) of Lao Tzū, are taken (1) from the first of the three works

last enumerated, (2) from the third, and (3) from the *Ku shéng hsien hsiang chuan lüeh*, respectively. It will be seen that Confucius (2),



as always in undress, is shown with hair gathered at the top of the head and fastened by a pin run through a small ornamental contrivance placed above. This was in fact the prevailing fashion of

the Chou dynasty, and would no doubt have been followed by Lao Tzü but for an awkward baldness which condemned him to



wear the topknot a little lower down.

Much stress is laid by my critics on the curly hair, bare feet,

*kāshaya*, tonsure, and earrings(?) of "Buddha." But that is precisely what I should expect from a 7th century Chinese artist, whose imagination had been vividly stirred by such a mystery as Trinity



in Unity, but who was in possession of no details. He would hear that an embodiment of Three in One was the God of a people in the West; and he would naturally turn for items of dress to the

(by that date) well-known figure of Buddha, whose home was also in the West. He may never have spoken or had any communication with a Nestorian priest, though he may very probably have seen one, and he may possibly have actually thought that this new God was another Buddha. On the other hand, large ears, always emphasised in his portraits, were one of Lao Tzu's personal characteristics; there is no sign of these, however, in our present woodcut.

It remains to be asked if there has been any period in history, from the 7th century onwards, when the Chinese people would tolerate a picture in which Confucius — Lao Tzu can be ignored — was exhibited in a subordinate position, not to say an attitude almost of adoration, towards Buddha. Foolish Emperors have more than once suffered from religious melancholia, Buddhist and Taoist, and have indulged in many wild vagaries; but no Chinese artist could have painted such a picture without infinite risk to his valued skin, nor would such blasphemy have had any chance of being preserved through centuries to the present day. Mr. Laufer states *ex cathedra*, though it is difficult to say what claims he has to mount the tribune, that our picture dates only from the 16th century. Still less in that case would any one have dared to place Confucius, the Uncrowned King, in a position so derogatory to his greatness; for never since the 16th century have either Buddhism or Taoism obtained any favour, Imperial or popular, as against the Doctrine of the ancient sages, of which Confucius is the venerated Prophet. An ignorant Chinese "teacher," cornered for an answer, will no doubt rattle off "Confucius, Lao Tzu, and Buddha," having in his mind the stock saying that "The Three Religions are really One," and not having in his mind the faintest apperception of the artistic question taken in connection with the relative positions of Confucianism and Buddhism. And so, in past centuries the real motive of the picture may well have passed out of mind, especially as Nestorian Christianity soon

completely disappeared, leaving absolutely no traces of a religion that must once have flourished vigorously, save and except the famous Nestorian Tablet. Then came the Japanese and carried off the false tradition to Japau, and painted pictures of "Confucius, Lao Tzū, and Buddha," but not, be it noted, on the lines of our present woodcut. In regard to the picture by Kanō Masanobu (1453—1490), quoted by Mr. Laufer, I am not fortunate enough to possess the *Kokka*; so I referred the question to my son, Mr. Lionel Giles of the British Museum, who writes,

Buddha is certainly not standing apart, like your Christ, but he is holding up his robe in much the same way. Lao Tzū is apparently conversing with him, and Confucius listening..... And after all, the great point is the *aloofness* of Christ in your picture. He is evidently intended to be 'of different clay' from the other two. And that is hardly the case in the *Kokka* picture.

II.—We now come to the linguistic question, which offers some curious points to those interested in the interpretation of Chinese.

The legend, already quoted, on what we may call the reverse of the ink-cake, consists of the four vertically-written characters, **函三爲一**; literally, "Contain Three Be (or Make) One," = "Contains Three Being (or Making) One," and in ordinary English "Three in One."

This locution, with this sense, can be traced back so far as the 3rd century A.D. It has nothing whatever to do with the everyday phrase referring to the common aim of the "Three Doctrines," Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, which runs **三教歸一** *San chiao kuei i*, and means "Three Doctrines Unite One" = "The Three Doctrines have one and the same aim,"—the tolerant spirit of which is sometimes courteously extended to embrace even Christianity. The phrase will be found in the commentary on the History of the Earlier Han Dynasty, by **孟康** Mēng K'ang, at the beginning of the **律歷** *Lü li chih* chapter on the "Pitchpipes and the

Calendar." The character **函** is there written **含**; the latter means "to hold in the mouth," and is said in K'ang Hsi to be **通作函** used for the former. [K'ang Hsi gives the phrase under **函**, noting that it is the same as **含**.] The text refers to the relation between the pitchpipes and numbers, and is explained by Mêng K'ang, as follows: **黃鐘子律也子數一泰極元氣含三爲一是一以一數變而爲三也**

The Yellow Bell is the *tz'u* pitchpipe (i.e., it corresponds to the first of the twelve cyclical **支** Branches). The number belonging to *tz'u* is one. Primeval ether which constituted the Absolute contained three in one; and so it was that the one underwent transformation, and became three.

Here we have plainly the idea of unity resolving itself into triunity.

Now let us take this phrase in connection with the picture, where it is alleged to mean—*N.B.* neither of my critics ventures to translate it—that the three figures represent Three Doctrines which are in essence One. Granting the correctness of this view, we are now faced by the fact that the only possible subject of **函** *han* "contain" is "picture;" that is to say, this picture contains three persons whose doctrines are one. Unfortunately for this theory, apart from its inherent weakness, the word *han* is not commonly used—one might almost say not used at all—in this sense. Any one can see by inspection that it is a picture-character, a representation, according to the **說文** *Shuo Wen*, of a tongue,—at any rate, of something contained, or shut up, in an envelope; and such indeed has always been its usage, with the very rarest exceptions, down to the present day. It would thus be an aptly-chosen character to express the embodiment in One Christ of the Three Persons of the Trinity; in fact, Trinity in Unity.

Finally, at the end of the book of woodcuts under discussion, there are three documents, the first two of which are from the pens of eminent writers, **王世貞** Wang Shih-chêng, A.D. 1526—1593,

and 王道貫 Wang Tao-kuan, respectively,—the latter being dated 1587—and are of the usual laudatory character; while the third and similar document is a 後序 closing note by one 方宇 Fang Yü, who was a clansman of Fang Yü-lu, mentioned above. After saying that the work was in six sections, and that it took five years to complete, the writer describes his delight in getting hold of a copy, and expatiates on the beauty of the varied scenes and figures of which it is composed,—

Some of which the ears and eyes have heard of and have seen, and some of which the ears and eyes have never heard of nor have seen.

Among those enumerated,

**有一函三者** there is the *One who contains Three*,— according to my interpretation. According to *The Times* critic and Mr. Laufer, this must read,

There is the one (picture) which contains three,  
for surely it cannot mean,

There is the one (Doctrine) which contains three.

But it must mean,

There is the (picture of) One who contains Three. In fact, no sense is to be got out of **函 han** “contain,” unless the subject thereof be Christ. This view is further emphasised by the words which immediately follow:

**有三生萬者** There is the *Three which produces Myriad*,— alluding to the well-known cosmogonical theory of Lao Tzü,

**一生二二生三三生萬物** One produced Two, Two produced Three, and Three produced the myriad things (in the universe),— the subject of another picture altogether.

Trinity in Unity seems thus to have been associated by tradition with some Western teaching so late as 1588. It is true that two

Jesuits had already in 1582 established themselves in the province of Kuangtung, where they were joined in 1583 by the great Ricci; but it is very unlikely that the picture belongs to that date, for several reasons, not the least being that, in common with almost all the other pictures in the book, it would have been in such case accompanied by the signature of the artist. The *provenance* however of our woodcut is a matter of comparatively slight importance. The great point is to get rid of the absurd "Confucius, Lao Tzū, and Buddha" theory, which appears to have been started, snowball fashion, by some ignorant Chinaman, pushed on by Japanese artists, who however had wit enough to depart from it in their own works, and then to have been meekly swallowed by the few Europeans who have ever paid any attention to the matter. Thanks however to Faug Yü, and to his reading of the legend, light seems, in my opinion, to have been thrown on a spot that would otherwise have remained dark.

The above pages had already been written when Professor Hirth, of Columbia University, issued his "Scraps from a Collector's Notebook," which mainly consists of sixty-seven articles, ranging from three lines to a page or two, on the same number of Chinese painters belonging to the present dynasty, thus forming a very useful and valuable supplement to my book, which ends with the close of the Ming dynasty in 1644. In addition, there are biographical notes on forty-five ancient painters, nearly all of whom will be found in my collection, but about whom Professor Hirth has always something new to say. Then follow twenty-three "Notes on some old Art Historians and Publishers," all very interesting and instructive; several complete Indexes, with the Chinese characters in each case; and finally some short notes on the twenty-one illustrations which add so much to the charm of the book. It would give me much pleasure to enlarge further on the excellence of Professor Hirth's

work; for the moment however I am concerned only with some remarks of his on the picture immediately under discussion.

Omitting all mention of a misunderstanding by Professor Hirth (p. 67) in regard to the source of the picture, partly due to my inadvertence; and also, for the moment, of the 不可磨 question, which is a side issue, I will now quote what Professor Hirth, with a caution and restraint which Mr. Laufer will do well to imitate, says on p. 68 of his work:—

I am inclined to look upon the human figure, explained by Professor Giles as an old portrait of Christ, as the typical shape of an Indian, here representing Buddhism. The expression of his face, his beard and his curly hair have a certain family likeness with many Indian Buddhists depicted on Chinese wood-cuts, and his barefootedness seems to support this view.

I have already dealt with this point, but it may here be observed that Professor Hirth says "a certain family likeness," meaning of course that the resemblance is not very pronounced.

The two other figures are of a different type. I cannot discover any characteristics indicating their being in any way different from the traditional representations of Chinese sages.

The upper figure is wearing on his head something which looks like a biretta; the lower has a distinct tonsure. Among representations of Chinese sages, of which I have examined a large number, I can find none similar in these respects.

Their shoes and the way they show from underneath the drapery of their gowns are quite Chinese; moreover, the man to the right in front does not kneel, nor does he upraise his hand in benediction, but he holds in his right hand a scroll, while raising his left in admonition like one arguing, his colleague folding his hands in a manner often seen in old representations of sages with courtly manners, as for instance in a portrait of Confucius by Wu Tau-tzī, preserved in a rubbing from an old stone inscription reproduced in the *Kim-shū-so*.

It must be remembered that according to my theory the picture is a very old one, and has been recut over and over again, no doubt with changes introduced by the ignorant engraver. The toe-tips of

the lower figure are now visible enough; but were they always there? To me, the upper part of the body is that of a kneeling man. To me again, the upraised hand of the lower figure is clearly in the attitude of benediction,—little finger and third finger bent down. The other two hands visible are somewhat mixed, and might both be those of the upper figure, exhibiting an open scroll. I can see no sign of folded hands, on the strength of which Professor Hirth would identify the upper figure with Confucius. But he goes on to say,

From the traditional portrait of Confucius both these figures resemble him, which would be a hardly likely coincidence in a picture specially designed to illustrate the oneness of three dissimilar faiths. [Compare the portraits of Confucius here reproduced from the best possible authorities.]

but I am inclined to think that one of the two men represents Lau-tz*ü*, a not very convincing remark. [Compare the portrait of Lao Tz*ü* here given.]

the entire group being an early type of that subject taken in hand by hundreds of painters of all periods, "The Three Religions" (*san-kien* 三教), Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism, as represented by the portraits of their founders. Under this title Ku K'ai-chi*ü* had painted a picture, and after him it has been one of the standard subjects up to the present day.

Ku K'ai-chi*ü* died soon after A.D. 405; but the term 三教 referring to Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, is said in the 壹是紀始 *I shih chi shih*, § V, to have been first used under the 六朝 Six Dynasties, when the Emperor 武帝 Wu Ti of the 周 Chou dynasty arranged the precedence of the three faiths, as stated above, and then proceeded to suppress Taoism and Buddhism. It occurs also in the 間易篇 *Wen i p'ien*, p. 3 *verso*, of 王通 Wang T'uug, A.D. 583–616; and there the writer seems to lament

that the religious energies of the nation had been dissipated in several directions instead of being concentrated in one.

In this connection, it may be remarked, for the benefit of those who do not happen to know, that the term 三教, as found in the more ancient literature of China, has nothing to do with the same term in use since the year A.D. 574. It occurs first of all in the 白虎通 *Po hu t'ung* of 班固 Pan Ku, who died A.D. 92, and is there said to have been substituted for 三正 (?) "the three commencements of the year," on which, see Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, p. 154. The actual words are

三正之有失故立三教 it was because of the failure of the *san chéng* that the *san chiao* were established.

This establishment of the *san chiao* was stated to be due to 欲民反正道 "a desire that the people should return to the true path;" and the *san chiao* are further said to be 忠, 敬, and 文, loyalty, reverence, and culture, each of which gives birth to the next in an endless chain; but all this is obscure, and has not been properly elucidated; it is only mentioned here to show that if Ku K'ai-chih did really paint a picture with this title, his *motif* may have been quite different from that suggested by the term as understood in later times.

In the catalogues at my disposal which contain titles of Ku K'ai-chih's pictures, I can find no mention of any work answering to Professor Hirth's description; only so late as 吳道子 Wu Tao-tzü of the 8th century, and 孫位 Sun Wei, a religious painter of the 9th century, have I been able to discover 三教圖, and 三教象, generally understood as "Portraits of the [Founders of the] Three Religions," though the change of phrase must be taken into account. The next work on this subject is attributed to 支仲元 Chih Chung-yüan of the Five Dynasties; but so far as my search goes, not one of these has been described in such a way as

to give any idea of its composition. But when we come to 馬遠 Ma Yüan of the 12th and 13th centuries, famous among the Japanese as Ba-yen, we have the very description we require, preserved for us in the 齊東野語 *Ch'i tung yeh yü* by 周密 Chou Mi,—an almost contemporary record. There we read that

Lao Tzü, with a yellow face, 跏趺中坐 was sitting cross-legged in the middle; Buddha was 儼立於傍 standing in a dignified attitude at his side; and Confucius 作禮於前 was making a salutation in front.

Of course it is only a guess that the picture which has given rise to all this discussion has anything to do with the Three Religions. There is nothing whatever outside the picture, beyond the cackle of ignorant natives, which offers any clue of any kind to its subject and interpretation, save and except the decisive legend 三爲一, which I think has been shown conclusively to mean "Three in One," in the sense, and in that alone, of the Triune God of Christianity.

### *ECHOES OF ORPHEUS.*

One of the nine Ministers of the Emperor Shun, of legendary memory, was the Grand Music-Master ~~虞~~ K'uei. His name is mentioned in the Book of History, a collection of very early records embracing a period which extends from the middle of the 24th century B.C. down to B.C. 721, and said to have been edited by Confucius from then existing documents which came into his hands. In the third millennium before Christ, and for many centuries afterwards, music was believed by the Chinese to possess a civilising influence equal to that expressed by Congreve in his famous line,

Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast,

and it occupied in practice among the ancient Chinese very much the place assigned to it by Plato in his theoretical republic. For instance, the philosopher Mencius, B.C. 372—289, (Bk. I, Pt. 2) told the King of the Ch'i State that if the latter's love of music were really profound, his administration would be almost perfect. The King modestly replied that he could not appreciate the music of ancient times, but only that in vogue at his own date; to which Mencius retorted that the one was quite as effective as the other for the purpose in question.

The older music referred to by the King was that same music which on one occasion so affected Confucius that for three months he knew not the taste of meat. Yet in spite of what must have been its great beauty, it faded gradually out of existence, and by the 2nd century B.C. was altogether a lost art.

The Grand Music-Master at his installation was solemnly addressed by the Emperor Shun on the exercise of his important functions. He was instructed so to influence the rising generation that the upright might also be tolerant, the liberal-minded dignified, the strong not tyrannical, and those in authority not arrogant. Thus, concluded the great Emperor,

神人以和 Gods and men will be brought into harmony.

To this speech the Grand Music-Master made the following extraordinary and very inapposite answer:

於子擊石拊石百獸率舞 Yes, I strike the musical-stone *forte*, I tap it *piano*, and all animals begin to dance.

It may be noticed here that the Emperor had just been appointing various other high officers, and that none of them made any answer of the kind, though several asked to be excused.

The commentary does not throw much light on the passage. After explaining that *chi* is "to hit hard" and *fu* "to hit softly," we read

人神易感鳥獸難感、百獸相率而舞則神人和可知也 Men and Gods are easy to influence, birds and beasts are hard to influence; and the fact that all animals began to dance shows clearly that Gods and men were in harmony.

Dr. Legge, in his note to this passage, says,

There can be no doubt the reply of K'uei is out of place here,—appears here in fact from some displacement of the ancient tablets.

But it also appears somewhere else in the *Book of History* (益稷), in connection with a choral service performed in memory of deceased ancestors of the Imperial House, whose spirits are attracted to the spot by the influence of the music. The Grand Music-Master is explaining how the orchestral effects of flutes, drums, organs, bells, etc., are produced, when all of a sudden he says,

鳥獸蹻蹻 birds and beasts begin to dance;

and in the following paragraph he repeats verbatim the sentence from the *Canon of Shun* which we have already examined, followed by

庶尹允諧 and all the high officials become truly in harmony.

The Chinese commentary refers the reader back to the luminous exegesis already quoted; and Dr. Legge adds,

I said the passage was out of place there. It would almost seem to be the same here, though the concluding clause (of above four characters) adds a particular point to the effects of music, not mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

As a matter of fact, the text would read much better and yield a more continuous sense if these passages about the birds and beasts were omitted altogether. They have clearly been interpolated in the text, at what date it is impossible to say; but subsequent to the middle of the 2nd century B.C., when echoes of Greek mythology from the Graeco-Bactrian province, together with Greek music, had already begun to reach China overland.

THE *WEAK WATER* (see p. 16).

Very shortly before his death, Sir Richard Jebb, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, was kind enough to point out to me a passage, not cited by Liddell and Scott, in which *βαθύππος* plays an important part. In the *Τραχίνιαι* of Sophocles (l. 556), *βαθύππος* will be found as an epithet of the river *Εὔηνος* Evenus, formerly known as the *Λυκόρμας* Lycormas, and now as the Fidari; and the word was translated by Sir Richard Jebb "deep," the latter portion being, as he told me, unnecessary to the sense, and possibly nothing more than a help-out to the metre. Sir Richard Jebb further referred me to the "Geography of Greece," by the Rev. H. F. Tozer, who classes the Evenus among the "sudden and violent streams" of ancient Greece, and says on p. 90,

The older name of the Evenus in Aetolia was Lycormas, 'rushing like a wolf,' from *λύκος* *δρμάω*.

and again on p. 96,

The scene of the adventure of Hercules with the centaur Nessus is the Evenus, one of the fiercest and most treacherous torrents in Greece.

This would seem to be decisive against such a meaning as "sluggish," which fits in so well with the mysterious 弱水 *Jo shui* of the Chinese. There are, however, several points which must be taken into consideration before the case can be pronounced hopeless.

1.—Are very deep rivers ever torrential, or torrential rivers ever very deep? The Yangtsze Kiang and the Hoang Ho may be quoted as examples of the negative.

2.—The Rev. Mr. Tozer only claimed in his preface to have "travelled over most of Greece;" he does not say that he actually saw the Evenus, which he calls "one of the fiercest and most treacherous torrents in Greece." He might well have deduced this view from the older name Lycormas, which he interprets "rushing like a wolf," evidently meaning "in headlong course" to be understood.

3.—Do wolves usually rush in headlong course? I have referred this question to Professor Newton, who so kindly helped me with the phoenix (p. 9), and his opinion is that the attack of the wolf is rather characterised by stealthy and cautious approach, except perhaps when his prey is completely at his mercy. Even a pack of wolves can be kept off for a time by determined men; the wolves succeed ultimately, as Mazeppa tells us, by

Their long gallop which can tire  
The hound's deep hate, the hunter's fire.

And that comparatively slow, but steady and sure, rate of progression is precisely what is wanted for a rational interpretation of *βαθύππας* and *Jo shui*.

4 (suggested to me by Miss Rachel White, Classical Lecturer at Newnham).—Is Lycormas correctly derived from "rushing like a wolf?" May it not, with more probability, be simply some old local name, the exact meaning of which has been lost?

5.—There remains, of course, the question as to the real speed of the Evenus. It would no doubt be unfair to argue from the present state of the Fidari, bearing in mind the shock experienced by Lord Byron when he saw an old washerwoman damming up one of the most famous rivers of ancient Greece, in order to get enough water to wash her cloths.

*China and Religion.* By Edward Harper Parker, M.A. (Manc.),  
Professor of Chinese at the Victoria University, Manchester.  
London, John Murray. 1905.

This is a disappointing volume, with an attractive title. To begin with, it is mostly a *réchauffé* of a number of magazine articles on the religions of China, published at intervals during the past fifteen years. These articles are now enumerated and referred to by the author under his 'List of Authorities' on p. xi., which he says 'may be usefully consulted.' They may perhaps have passed muster, at the time of writing, in the not altogether leading magazines in which they appeared; but for the purposes of a book, to be regarded as authoritative for future students, they required a much more severe revision than they have actually received. Professor Parker seems to have made hardly any attempt to blend his articles into the form of a 'simple sketch,' as claimed in his Introduction, but to have been content to leave them almost in their original patch-work state, one curious result of which is that his present work rests for the most part upon 'authorities' of his own earlier creation—a truly novel illustration of what is known as arguing in a circle. Another result is that there are numerous repetitions, which would be more tolerable if the repetitions always agreed with one another. But they do not even do that. For instance, on p. 48, in his essay on Taoism, he states that works on 'Taoism, Astrology and Medicine,' were the only ones exempted from destruction at the famous Burning of the Books in B.C. 213. This serious mistake is corrected on p. 68, in a repetition of the statement, where we read that 'works on medicine, divination, and agriculture' were spared; but of course the uninitiated reader is left in darkness as to which is really the correct version.

At the end of his book, Professor Parker reprints his translation of the spurious text known as the *Tao-têh King* or Taoist Classic, which has already been translated quite a dozen times by various hands, and which he now strives with vain effort to erect into a genuine document of the 6th or 7th century B.C. At one time, p. 38, he speaks of the 'hazy theories' of which this *Tao-têh King* is composed; on p. 47, this time in the same essay, he calls these theories 'noble abstractions.' Which of the two descriptions may be the more appropriate, the reader will be able to judge from Professor Parker's rendering of Chapter 6:—

'The spirit of the valley of space never dies, and this is what is called the progenetrix of neutral dissolution, and the connection of this dissolution progenetrix may be termed the root of heaven and earth. It extends into eternity like a preserver of life, and is inexhaustible in its uses.'

The reader is now in a position to appreciate the justice of Professor Parker's remark on p. 38, namely, that the alleged writer of the above quotation was 'an apostle of simplicity, and pleaded in season and out of season consistently for a return to Nature.'

On p. 287, where Professor Parker deals with a difficult passage in the *Tao-têh King*, he adds the following footnote:—

'This mysterious sentence, which permits the imagination to run riot in various fancies, would have been totally unintelligible to me had I not discovered from the Concordance that 淮南子 Vainancius (2nd cent. B.C.), quotes it *with the addition of the three words*, etc.'

In reply to this claim, it is only necessary to say that such 'discovery' was made exactly twenty years ago, and that the point was fully discussed in the *China Review*, vol. xiv, p. 260. Further, in consequence of violating his own rule, as stated on p. ix, by trusting to a second-hand authority such as the Concordance, instead

of reading the works of Vainancius, which are open to all students of Taoism, Professor Parker has not only made a mess of his translation, but has also failed to 'discover' that the sentence in question is twice quoted in the original authority.

As an example of serious mistakes, the reader need not go beyond p. 60, where he will find these words:—'Mencius insists that the nature of man is evil, 孟子 Cincius that it is good, in its origin.' This makes one rub one's eyes: we are here faced with much the same difficulty as if some theologian were to tell us that St Paul was a Unitarian. For the keystone of Confucian philosophy is that man is born good, and Mencius, the Second Sage, spent his life in establishing on an imperishable basis this leading doctrine of his great predecessor, as Professor Parker will learn by consulting the works of Mencius, Book vi, Pt. i, in Dr. Legge's Chinese Classics, where a translation is furnished on the same page with the text.

Sometimes Professor Parker challenges the smiles of his readers, *e. g.*, on page 11—'just as with us, a man may be or try to be a convinced Christian gentleman, although occasionally he may take a drop too much, or yield to business frauds and feminine seductions.' On p. 219, when enumerating the more distinguished Protestant missionaries, we read: 'On the American side the versatile Dr. Lord, who also at one time acted as U.S. Consul, was sufficiently vigorous to outlast three wives. Unfortunately, he and his fourth wife—about forty years his junior—were carried off together by cholera in 1887.' This last story, if it need be told at all, might at least have been accurately told. Dr. Lord actually out-lived six wives; but what that has to do either with China or with Religion, passes comprehension, and the same may well be said of a Latin poem on the deathbed of Pope Leo XIII, with which the volume opens.

That his work has undergone but a poor revision, if any, may be gathered from a simple process of comparison. In the *Asiatic*

*Quarterly* for 1902, p. 380, speaking of the return of the Chinese Commissioners sent in the first century to India to enquire about Buddhism, Professor Parker wrote, 'They were accompanied by two Hindoos, named Kâs'yapa Mâtanga and (in unrecognisable Chinese dress) Chuh-fah-lan.' On p. 75 we now read, 'Two Hindoos, one of whom was named Kâs'yapa Mâtanga, accompanied the mission back.' After three years of revision Professor Parker ought to have been able to find out that 竺法蘭 Chuh-fah-lan, in quite recognisable Chinese dress, was the well-known Gobharana.

For his chapter on Nestorianism Professor Parker is so deeply indebted to 'La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan Fou,' by the late Père Havret, S.J., that it is difficult to find anything which is our author's own, save the translation (p. 121) of an Imperial decree referring to Christianity and printed for the first time, but left untranslated, by the learned Jesuit. The first sentence of this runs, according to Professor Parker, 道無常名, 聖無常體, 隨方設教, 密濟羣生 'Tao has no constant name, holiness no constant form; cults are established according to place, for the unobtrusive salvation of the masses.' It may be doubted whether the above too literal rendering, apart from the mistake of 'unobtrusive,' really conveys the full meaning of the Chinese text, which in a certain sense may be compared with Hebrews i.1. The following is suggested as an improvement: 'The TRUTH does not always appear under the same name, nor is divine inspiration always embodied in the same form. Religious vary in various lands; but the underlying principle of all is the salvation of mankind,'—a very remarkable admission by a Chinese Emperor of the 7th century, that there is 'truth' outside Confucianism, and that there are other prophets besides Confucius.

Professor Parker's twenty odd pages on Shintoism, the religion of Japan, appear to be of comparatively recent construction. It is

indeed charitable to hope that they were written prior to the publication by Professor Michel Revon of vol. i. (pp. 229) of his great work 'Le Shintoïsme,' which has been for some months in the hands of students, but which is not so much as mentioned by name in Professor Parker's book. This is the more to be regretted, as the conclusions of Professor Parker's sketch are not borne out by a perusal of Professor Revon's first volume.

Finally, twelve full-page illustrations are inserted in 'China and Religion.' Three of these refer exclusively to Japan, two to Burmah, and one to Korea. Two others are pictures of Jesuit priests; another is the 'Ju-i,' which had nothing on earth to do, originally, with religion, and is wrongly described as 'A symbol of rule adopted from Buddhism,'—a mistake which has been several times exposed, but seems to die hard. Another is of a temple erected to the memory of Chinese killed during the bombardment at Pagoda Island; another is of the Nestorian Tablet; and the last is of a *Stūpa* in Peking, which has been reproduced over and over again.

It only remains to say that if books like this one, on an important subject, are offered to the reading public, we cannot be astonished at Professor Parker's pathetic cry on p. 1 of his Introduction:—'I have long since found my stock-in-trade a drug upon the market, and have had to get many of the papers bound up in manuscript for the convenience of my own reference.'

*Cambridge Review.*

## MOSES

And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to wash herself at the river; and her maidens walked along by the river's side; and when she saw the ark among the flags, she sent her maid to fetch it. And when she had opened it, she saw the child: and, behold, the babe wept..... And she called his name Moses: and she said, Because I drew him out of the water. *Exodus*, ch. 2, vv. 5, 6, 10.

The 竹譜 *Chu p'u*, by 戴凱之 Tai K'ai-chih of the 晉 Chin dynasty, A.D. 265—419, has the following story:—

A girl, who was bathing in the river 勝 Shéng, saw a section of bamboo come floating along with the stream. When it neared her, she pushed it away; but it came back again, and then, hearing a sound from within, she took the bamboo and carried it home. On opening it, she discovered a little boy, who, on growing to man's estate, adopted Bamboo as his surname, and afterwards rose to be 王 ruler of the State.

The 誠齋雜記 *Ch'eng chai tsa chi* (? author and date) says:—

It was under the reign of Wu Ti of the Han dynasty (B.C. 140—86), that 竹王 King Bamboo arose from the river 豚 T'un. A girl, who was bathing from the bank, found that a three-section piece of large bamboo had floated between her legs. She was trying to push it away, when hearing a sound, she caught hold of the bamboo, and carried it home. On breaking it open, she discovered a boy, who grew up to be very strong, and adopted Bamboo as his surname. The broken receptacle grew into a grove of bamboo, known as 王詞 King's-Words. This king was once resting with his attendants on a large rock, and called for soup, but there was no water to make it; whereupon he struck the rock with his sword, and water gushed out.

The 三才圖會 *San ts'ai t'u hui*, by 王圻 Wang Ch'i of the 16th century, has the following story:—

The country of 默伽 Mo-ka was formerly an uninhabited wilderness; and there, the Tajik patriarch 蒲羅吽 *P'u lo hou*, who had been

of strange appearance since his youth, had a son born to him by the wife whom he had married on reaching manhood. No water being at hand to wash the child, the mother laid it on the ground, and went in search of some. She was unsuccessful; but on returning, she found that her child

默伽國



had scratched the ground with his foot, and that a deliciously clear spring was bubbling up. The child received the name of 司麻烟 *Ssü ma yen*, and a well-wall was built around the spring, which never fails even

in time of drought. Stormy waves at sea may always be stille by pouring some of this water upon them.

The above three extracts seem to suggest some knowledge of the story of Moses. It has been said that the Jews carried the Pentateuch to China shortly after the Babylonish captivity, and founded a colony in Honan in A.D. 72. Three inscriptions on stone tablets are still extant, dated 1489, 1512, and 1663, respectively. The first says that the Jews reached China under the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1163); the second, during the Han dynasty (A.D. 25 – 206); and the third, during the Chou dynasty (11th to 3rd century B.C.). The illustration is not known to be older than the 16th century.

## LAO TZŪ AND THE *TAO TĒ CHING*.

言者不知知者默  
此語吾聞於老君  
若道老君是知者  
緣何自著五千文

"Those who speak do not know, those who know are silent."

These words I have learned from Lao Tzū;

But if you say Lao Tzū was one who knew,

Why did he himself write five thousand words?

Po Chü-i, A.D. 772—846.

The time seems to have come round when it is desirable to recapitulate the arguments against the genuineness of the 道德經 *Tao Tē Ching*. It was so far back as 1886 that I published in the *China Review*, vol. xiv, p. 231, *The Remains of Lao Tzū*, an article of considerable length, dealing with some of the then-existing translations of the book, and also with the evidence which was said to justify its acceptance as a classic of the 6th century before Christ. Up to that date, the *Tao Tē Ching*, after very insufficient examination, had been regarded by all foreign scholars, from the great Julien onwards, as unquestionably the work of the famous Lao Tzū, a philosopher who flourished no one can say exactly when, since there is no record whatever either of his birth or of his death. My conclusions were (1) that the *Tao Tē Ching* was a forgery, in the sense that although many sayings, such as could only emanate from a real "prophet," were embodied therein, the setting of these was an unintelligible gibberish which properly belonged to a much later development of Taoism; and (2) that the published translations of the genuine sayings were more or less misleading, if not abso-

lutely faulty. My position was of course violently assailed, as new positions should always be, if only to see that they will stand the shock.

Dr. Chalmers, who had translated the work, declined at first to make any reply; then he yielded to the attractions of battle, and denounced me in no measured terms. Finally,—months later,—I was interested to hear the following words read from a private letter of his:—"The *Tao Té Ching* must be given up." Years later,—not long before the old lion of sinology passed to his well-earned rest,—we discussed the question amicably in Aberdeen, and he confirmed his previous statement above-quoted, and pointed out that he had ceased to write in opposition.

Dr. Legge, who, in an article published in the *British Quarterly Review* for July 1883, had called the *Tao Té Ching* a *κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ*, stuck to his text through a long and sometimes acrimonious controversy; and although I became very intimate with him during his last years at Oxford, I cannot say that he ever openly admitted a change of opinion. Something else he did indeed change, which was sorely in need of it; and that was his translation, which afterwards appeared in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 39. In simple justice to myself, I have placed side by side, for convenience of comparison, a single example of what I mean. The student will find many such.

#### CHAPTER 49.

##### 善者吾善之不善者吾亦善之德善

Dr. Legge, 1883.

The sage ruler accepts the good as good, and accepts as good also those who are not good; and (all thus) get to be good.

My version, 1886.

To the good I would be good. To the not-good I would also be good, in order to make them good.

Dr. Legge, 1891.

To those who are good (to me) I am good; and to those who are not good (to me), I am also good;—and (all thus) get to be good.

The method adopted in the preparation of the *Remains of Lao*

*Tzū* was an extremely simple one; so simple, perhaps, that no one had ever thought of applying it to the *Tao Té Ching* before. It occurred to me to search through the early Taoist writers, and see what they had to say, if anything, on the subject of the so-called "classic." This search was amply rewarded. Throughout the works of Chuang Tzū, Han Fei Tzū, Huai-nan Tzū, and others, occurred a great many isolated sayings by Lao Tzū, now found in the *Tao Té Ching*, and also a great many others which are not so found. These were often dealt with in those writers in such a way that the meaning, which had frequently puzzled Julien, Chalmers, and Legge, was placed beyond reasonable doubt; while the total absence of allusion to any *book* from which they were taken, led me to believe that within a century or two after the Burning of the Books, B.C. 213, in an age when forgery of the kind was rife, some ingenious person may have picked out a number of such sayings and have worked them into a volume which would pass muster as the work of Lao Tzū himself, and do duty as the "classic" or Bible of a then growing doctrine. This hypothesis seemed to me, and now seems more than ever, confirmed by the chain of evidence which I propose to set once more before the reader.

For the purposes of this argument, we will assume that Lao Tzū flourished in the 6th century B.C., having been born in 604, according to the popular calculation; also, that he wrote a book, now known as the *Tao Té Ching*.

1.—Confucius, B.C. 551—479, is said to have paid at least one visit to Lao Tzū in order 閨禮 to ask about ceremonial observances. Interviews between the two are first mentioned by Chuang Tzū, 3rd and 4th centuries B.C., in chapters or passages which are condemned by the best Chinese critics as spurious or interpolated, respectively; while other critics, who do not admit 604 as the date

of birth, show that these interviews would involve an anachronism, and cannot possibly have taken place. One writer makes merry over the idea that Confucius should have gone to study ceremonial observances from a teacher who said (ch. 38),

禮者忠信之薄也而亂之首也

Ceremonies are but the veneer of loyalty and good faith, while oft-times the source of trouble.

But most important of all is the fact, inexplicable if Confucius had met Lao Tzū and had read his *Tao Té Ching*, that in all the canonical record of his life and teachings Confucius never once alludes either to Lao Tzū or to his book. An attempt has indeed been made to rectify this damning omission, but with indifferent success. Ch. 7 of the 論語 *Lun Yü* or Confucian Analects opens with these words,

子曰述而不作信而好古竊比於我老彭

This was rendered by Dr. Legge,

The Master said, A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients, I venture to compare myself with our old P'ang.

This "old P'ang" is generally regarded by Chinese commentators, including Chu Hsi, as P'êng Tsu, the legendary Methusaleh of China, of whom nothing is really known, and who certainly did not leave a book behind him. But the sentence gave a chance to the Taoists, and there were not wanting scholars who declared that 老 *Lao* "old" stood for Lao Tzū, and 彭 "P'êng" for P'êng Tsu. This view was adopted by the well-known 楊時 Yaug Shih, A.D. 1053-1135 (see the 丹鉛總錄), but with a conclusion to his argument which caused the pious Taoist to cry "*Non tali auxilio;*" for Yaug wound up by saying,

老子述而不作此其明證也

It is thus clear that Lao Tzū transmitted, but did not make—the *Tao Té Ching* understood.

2.—**左邱明** Tso-ch'iu Ming, who wrote the extensive commentary, known as the **左傳** *Tso chuan*, on the Annals of the Lu State, which covers the period from B.C. 722 to 484, never once mentions either Lao Tzü or his book.

3.—The philosopher known as **文子** Wén Tzü, is said to have been a personal disciple of Lao Tzü. In the *Remains* attributed to him, we find recorded sayings of his Master—which by the way are not in the *Tao Té Ching*,—but he never mentions the existence or preparation of any book. *E.g.*

### 老子曰天下是非無所定世

Lao Tzü said, Right and wrong have been differently understood in different ages,

which reads like an anticipatory blow at Kant's categorical imperative.

4.—The philosopher **官子** Kuan Tzü, of the 5th century B.C., never mentions either Lao Tzü or his book.

5.—**孟子** Mencius, who lived from B.C. 372 to 289, practically spent his life in denouncing all heresies likely to interfere with the pure flow of Confucianism, as for instance the heterodox schools of **楊朱** Yang Chu and **墨翟** Mo Ti, which he is considered to have effectually “snuffed out.” In the full record of his teachings which has come down to us, there is not a single word of reference either to Lao Tzü or to his book.

6.—The philosopher **荀況** Hsün K'uang, also known as **荀卿** Hsün Ch'ing, who was attacked by Mencius for maintaining that man's nature is evil, took no notice in all his writings either of Lao Tzü or of his book.

7.—Neither did the above-mentioned philosopher Mo Ti, whose doctrine of extreme altruism brought upon him the censure of Mencius.

8.—**莊子** Chuang Tzü, of the 4th century B.C., is the first great authority upon the doctrines which Lao Tzü taught.

He produced a work, illustrating the WAY of his great master, so rich in thought and so brilliant from a literary point of view that, although Lao Tzū's doctrines have long since been condemned, the work of the disciple remains, a storehouse of current quotation and a model of composition, for all time. To express what he meant by the WAY, Lao Tzū had adopted the common Chinese term for a road, viz: 道 *Tao*, just as *ὁδός* "way" is used in Greek for a method or system, and later for the Christian faith. He was, however, careful to explain that the eternal WAY was not the way which could be walked upon. These are now the opening words of the *Tao Té Ching*, and have been otherwise translated, on the ground, defended by some native scholars, that *tao* also means "to speak." Quite recently a writer mentioned in the *Athenaeum* maintained this view, and in the so-called translation (*horresco referens!*) by Professor E. H. Parker in *China and Religion*, p. 271, we have

道可道非常道 The Providence which could be indicated by words would not be an all-embracing Providence,

not to mention the entirely unauthorised rendering of 常 by "all-embracing."

To begin with, the common use of 道 *tao* in the sense of "to speak" is comparatively modern, and this meaning is not given at all in the *Shuo Wén* (see *post*). It is thus used only twice in the Book of History, and once in the Odes. No important point, however, is involved, and the reader may take his choice between "The way on which you can walk is not the eternal WAY" and "The way on which you can talk is not the eternal WAY." The former appeals to me, chiefly as being more epigrammatic, and also because it would be more natural to divert the mind of a reader from the primary and well-known meaning of a word, than from an extended and less known meaning. Dr. Legge adopted the former interpretation; Chinese commentators, including Han Fei Tzū, seem to favour the

latter. It is also worth noting that in his chapter entitled **山木** "Mountain Trees," Chuang Tzū uses **塗** *t'u*, which can only be taken in the sense of "a road," as a synonym of *tao*. The actual words are **而况有大塗者乎**, explained by the commentator **林西仲** Lin Hsi-chung as **况道德之有於心乎** "How much more those who have *Tao* and *Tê* in their hearts?"—the characters **大塗** *ta t'u* having been already explained as "= **大道** *ta tao*, the Great WAY."

Chuang Tzū, indeed, puts into the mouth of Lao Tzū sayings which are now found in the *Tao Tê Ching*, mixed up with a great many other similar sayings which are not to be found there. But he also puts sayings, which now appear in the *Tao Tê Ching*, into the mouth of Confucius! And even into the mouth of the Yellow Emperor, whose date is some twenty centuries earlier than that of Lao Tzū himself! In fact, for many centuries before and even after the probable date of the *Tao Tê Ching*, we find **黃老** Yellow (Emperor and) Lao (Tzū) in common use for Taoist traditions or writings. Thus we have

**李白晚好黃老** Li Po (the poet, A.D. 705—762) in late life was fond of Taoist doctrines.

It may here be mentioned that Chinese literature possesses the works of a philosopher named **列子** Lieh Tzū, who is said to have flourished before Chuang Tzū. Lieh Tzū, however, has long been universally recognised by native scholars to be nothing more than an imaginary personage, and his book to be a forgery of a later age, based perhaps, like the *Tao Tê Ching*, upon actual traditions of Lao Tzū. Professor Parker, *China and Religion*, pp. 46, 47, still chooses to regard Lieh Tzū as a real personage and his so-called works as authentic documents, and thus impales himself upon one horn of a dilemma. For in the very first section of Lieh Tzū's work we are told that what is now chapter vi of the *Tao Tê Ching*,

was in reality written by the Yellow Emperor, B.C. 2698—2598.

Meanwhile, we are somewhat losing sight of the chief point which it is here intended to emphasise; namely, that throughout the writings of Chuang Tzü, who may be regarded as the St. Paul of Taoism, there is absolutely no allusion to even the mere existence of any book by the Master.

9.—The third century B.C. produced a philosopher, known as 韓非子 Hau Fei Tzü, whose literary remains consist of fifty-five essays on speculative subjects. Two of these are wholly given up to explaining and to illustrating a number of short sayings attributed by the writer to Lao Tzü, most of which are now to be found in the *Tao Té Ching*; but there are many others not to be found there, although why they should have been excluded, it is quite impossible to say. In two places, once where he is dealing with a saying from what is now chapter 59 of the *Tao Té Ching*, and similarly with regard to chapter 77, Han Fei Tzü seems as though he were consulting a written document, as opposed to tradition which plays generally such a prominent part. It is quite plain, however, that such a book, if there was one,—and that possibility is not denied,—cannot have been the modern *Tao Té Ching*; for the latter work actually contains portions of Han Fei Tzü's two chapters. One would naturally expect that if the writer had had the *Tao Té Ching* before him, he would have begun at the beginning, and have ended at the end. No such sequence, however, is to be found in Han Fei Tzü. He takes his sayings at random, beginning with chapter 38, then on to chapters 12, 58, 59, 60, 46, 14, 1, 50, 67, 53, 54, now back to 46, 54, etc., and finally ending with chapter 27. What may be the explanation of this, I am not prepared to say; it certainly does not make for the genuineness of the *Tao Té Ching*.

10.—We now come to 尹文子 Yin Wen Tzü, who is a little later in date, and is the reputed author of the 尹學 *Yin hsüeh*.

He quotes two sayings by Lao Tzü, which are now found in the *Tao Té Ching*, but he does not mention a book. These sayings are both prefaced by the usual 老子曰 "Lao Tzü said," and both differ textually from those in the *Tao Té Ching*.

11.—To the 3rd century B.C. is assigned the *呂氏春秋* *Lü shih ch'ün ch'iu*, which contains much varied information, a great deal about *Tao* and *Té*, and an occasional reference to Lao Tzü, but no mention of a book. The following is an extract from an essay on 貴公 the importance of public-spiritedness:—

A man of the *荆* Ching State who had lost a bow, was unwilling to search for it. A man of Ching lost it, he argued, and a man of Ching will find it; why should I search? When Confucius heard this, he said, Leave out "of Ching," and the principle is correct (meaning that so long as some man got it, he need not necessarily be of Ching). When Lao Tzü heard this, he said, Leave out "a man of," and the principle is correct (meaning that if the State got it, there was no necessity for a man). This shows that Lao Tzü was truly public-spirited.

12.—In B.C. 213, occurred what is known as the Burning of the Books. The "First Emperor" decided, on the advice of his Minister *李斯* Li Ssü, to get rid of all existing literature, as being a hindrance to progress, and to make a fresh start from his own date. Accordingly, an edict was issued calling for the destruction by fire of all the State histories, except that of his own State, now part of the Empire, and of all other writings except those relating to medicine, divination, and agriculture, again with an exception in favour of copies in the hands of certain officials. The punishment for disobedience was penal servitude, and there is no doubt that there was a great holocaust, although its extent may have been exaggerated. In addition to his serious mistake in this connection (see *ante*, p. 50), Professor Parker (*op. cit.* p. 68) has what I can only characterise as the audacity to add that amongst the books spared was

the *Book of Changes*: that the Taoist classic fell within the shadow of the *Book of Changes* is almost certain; for the First Emperor was under Taoist influence, and the classic never needed rediscovery; it never was lost.

Such statements are most unfair to the general reading public; it only remains to say that there is absolutely no authority for this assertion, either with regard to the *Book of Changes* or to the *Tao Té Ching*. An opinion has indeed been expressed that the *Book of Changes* may have escaped in this way; but opinions are not facts. As to the *Tao Té Ching*, the Taoist fraternity would naturally jump (with Professor Parker) at any chance of the kind. Dr. Legge, indeed, thought that the extent to which the destruction of literature was carried by the Burning of the Books had been rather exaggerated. The following hitherto unnoticed quotation, however, from the biography of Ts'ui Hao (see *post*), will show that in the 5th cent. A.D. the loss was considered to be a very real one:—

### 自秦始皇燒書之後經典絕滅

Ever since the First Emperor burnt the books, classical literature has altogether disappeared.

The writer goes on to say, what is also very important in this connection, that ever since the accession of the founder of the Han dynasty, B.C. 206, 妄造 forgery of books had been a common practice.

13.—The scholar and statesman 賈誼 Chia I, who died about B.C. 165, and left among other writings a collection of essays known as the 新書 *Hsin shu*, quotes a saying by Lao Tzü, which now appears in chapter 64 of the *Tao Té Ching*, with the usual introduction 老子曰 “Lao Tzü said.” Dr. Legge tried to show that such words were equivalent to “It is said in the *Tao Té Ching*;” but this is special pleading, and he counted without the large number of sayings by Lao Tzü which also have these introductory words, and are not to be found in the *Tao Té Ching*. On the

assumption that the *Tao Té Ching* was compiled from sayings by Lao Tzü found scattered through the works of early writers, all difficulty disappears.

14.—The philosopher known as 淮南子 Huai-nan Tzü died in B.C. 122. He devotes one long essay to illustrations of the doctrines of Lao Tzü. He quotes intelligible sayings by Lao Tzü, which have been incorporated in the *Tao Té Ching*, sometimes with the addition of other characters in such a way as to make them unintelligible. A notable example of this occurs in chapter 27. From first to last, Huai-nan Tzü never mentions a book.

It is convenient to add here that I do not take notice of the 禮記 Book of Rites. Native scholars of repute do not consider that the Lao Tan there mentioned is the Lao Tzü with whom we are now concerned.

15.—Finally, we come to the historian 司馬遷 Ssü-ma Ch'ien; circa B.C. 145—80, out of whose writings so much capital has been made. Among the biographical notices attached to his history, there is one of Lao Tzü. The first portion of this has appeared several times in translation; but not the second. For some unexplained reason, Julien, in his *Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu*, Paris, 1842, pp. xx, xxi, stopped half way; and by a most extraordinary coincidence, all later translators, e.g. Dr. P. Carus in his somewhat amusing work on the *Tao Té Ching*, Chicago, 1898, have also stopped half way. After missing a most important paragraph, Julien indeed went on; but no one else has gone on with him. What we find in Ssü-ma Ch'ien's work runs as follows:—

Lao Tzü was a man of the 曲仁 Ch'ü-jen alley in the hamlet of 厥 Li in the 縣 district of 苦 K'u in the State of 楚 Ch'u.

The *ex post facto* character of Ch'ü-jen is worth noting, considering Lao Tzü's traditional antagonism to *jen* charity of heart (see Chuang Tzü, 天運). Also, the division of the empire into "districts" belongs to a much later date; such a meaning is not even mentioned in the *Shuo wen*.

His surname was 李 Li, his personal name was 耳 Erh, his style was 伯陽 Po-yang, and his posthumous name was 膽 Tan.

Dr. Carus translates Po-yang by "Prince Positive!" He does not seem to know that as a title, Po must follow the surname. The commentary throws doubt on all the above; and one critic says that *Tan*, which refers to the shape of Lao Tzü's ears, 似不得爲謚 "is not at all like a posthumous name."

He was a keeper of the archives in the Chou State.

The title here rendered "keeper of the archives" is 守藏室之史, which has been shown to be an anachronism as applied to Lao Tzü.

When Confucius went to Chou, he enquired of Lao Tzü concerning 禮儀 ceremonies (see *ante*). Sir, said Lao Tzü, as to what you speak about, the persons have already rotted with their bones; only their words remain.

There is the same awkwardness in the original.

Besides, if a 君子 good man gets his chance, he rides in a chariot; if not, he becomes a mere waif and stray.

Other interpretations are given, but the gist is the same.

I have heard that the clever merchant keeps his stock out of sight, as though he had none; and that the man of abundant virtue looks as though he were stupid.

This sentence is quoted by 稽康 Hsi K'ang, A.D. 223—262, with the insertion of the two characters 外形 in the first half, thus restoring the balance of the text.

Get rid of your pride, your many desires, your present bearing, and your vicious aims. These will not benefit you at all. Beyond this, I have nothing more to say.

Chuang Tzü has several interpolated interviews between Lao Tzü and Confucius, all different from this one.

Confucius went away, and said to his disciples, I understand how birds can fly, how fishes can swim, and how animals can run;—

for those which run there are nets, for those which swim there are lines, and for those which fly there are arrows;—but as to the dragon I do not understand how it rides on the wind and clouds, and rises to heaven. Today I have seen Lao Tzü; he is like the dragon.

In his cultivation of Tao and Tê, Lao Tzü made self-effacement and absence of reputation his chief aims. After a long residence in Chou, he saw that the State was decaying: so he departed, and reached the frontier-pass.

Commentators fight over the identification of this pass. It has also been pointed out by 焦竑 Chiao Hung, A.D. 1541—1620, that the decay of Chou belongs to the reign of 敬王 King Ching, B.C. 519—475, whereas the warden, now to be mentioned, served under 昭王 King Chao, B.C. 4052—4001.

The warden of the pass, Yin Hsi, said, Sir, as you are about to go into retirement, I earnestly beg that you will write a book for me.

The 神仙傳 *Shén hsien chuan*, by 葛洪 Ko Hung of the 4th cent. A.D., says 老子語之五千言喜退而書之 Lao Tzü spoke to him 5,000 words, and Hsi went away and wrote them down.

Thereupon, Lao Tzü wrote a book in two parts, on the meaning of Tao and Tê, containing five thousand and odd words, and departed.

This obviously means, what is not the case, that the first part of the *Tao Tê Ching* deals with Tao, and the second with Tê. Different editions of the book have contained 5748, 5722, 5630, 5683, and 5610 characters. No one knows what became of him.

Yet, as 葉適 Yeh Shih, A.D. 1150—1223, points out in his scathing essay on Lao Tzü, the historian goes on to tell us how old he was at death. This is the point reached by previous translators.

Some say that Lao Lai Tzü was also a man of Ch'u.

One of the 24 examples of filial piety, 6th cent. B.C. The commentator here says, 太史公疑老子或是老萊子 Ssu-ma Ch'ien suspects Lao Tzü to be Lao Lai Tzü.

He wrote a book in fifteen sections, in which he discusses the tenets of the Taoist school, and was contemporary with Confucius.

He is said to have lectured Confucius on right conduct.

Lao Tzü is said to have lived to over 160 years of age,—some say over 200,—in consequence of his cult of Tao and care for his health.

The phraseology here used is meant to indicate doubt on the part of the writer.

One hundred and twenty-nine years after the death of Confucius,

This is said to be a mistake for 119 years.

the Grand Augur of Chou, named 儘 Tan, had an interview with Duke 獻 Hsien of Ch'in, and said, Formerly, Ch'in and Chou were united, and then separated. After 500 years they again became united. Seventy years later the 霸王 Pa Wang appeared. Some say that this 儘 Tan was Lao Tzü, and others say not; no one knows who is right.

Here Julien's translation begins again.

Lao Tzü was a 君子 good (or perfect) man who lived in retirement. He had a son named 宗 Tsung, who was an officer in the 魏 Wei State, and was feoffed with 段干 Tuan-kau. Tsung's son was 沾 Chu, Chu's son was 宮 Kung, and Kung's great-great-grandson was 假 Chia (or Hsia), who held office under the Emperor Wén Ti of the Han dynasty. Chia's son, 解 Hsieh, was Minister under 卫 Ang, Prince of 膠西 Chiao-hsi, and consequently settled in the 齊 Ch'i State. Those who study Lao Tzü abuse the Confucianists, who in their turn abuse Lao Tzü. The principles of the two not being the same, they have not the same aims. How can we say who is right? 李耳 Li Erh taught the attainment of transformation by Inaction, and of perfection by Repose. [Ssü-ma Ch'ien says, the Tao which Lao Tzü bequeathed is empty and unsubstantial, and its operation is bound up with Inaction; therefore the language used in his book is mysterious and difficult to understand.]

Such is the famous authority, 太史公老子傳多疑詞  
“packed with doubtful statements”, to which alone we can look, say

many Chinese critics, for any details, credible and otherwise, about Lao Tzü and the *Tao Té Ching*. There is indeed another passage, where of course we should expect it, in the biography of Confucius, which tells us of the alleged visit to Lao Tzü. Lao Tzü, elsewhere mixed up with the Yellow Emperor, is here made to say something totally different from what we find in his own biography, but equally absurd. It has already been translated by Professor Chavannes in his *Mémoires Historiques*, vol. V, p. 300, and need not be reproduced. But the foot-note which it has drawn from the eminent French sinologue is quite worth quoting:—

De l'examen de ces divers témoignages il résulte que la réalité historique des entrevues de Confucius et de *Lao-tse* n'est point établie; cette tradition nous apparaît bien plutôt comme une invention des taoïstes, etc.

Professor Chavannes is here in complete accord with many native critics; *e. g.* with 羅璧 Lo Pi, A.D. 1234—1299, who asked very pertinently,

使孔子果師聃子思何不言之 If Confucius really took Lao Tzü as his teacher, how is it that K'ung Chi (his grandson, and author of the *Doctrine of the Mean*) does not say a word about it?

But if the interview between Confucius and Lao Tzü is to be incontinently given up, what becomes of the integrity of Ssü-ma Ch'ien's text?

In this connection, too, it is interesting to note that Professor E. H. Parker believes in these interviews (*China and Religion*, p. 45), in awkward antagonism to a writer whom he speaks of on p. ix of the same work as "the soundest of living sinologists."

16.—The historian 班固 Pan Ku, *d.* A.D. 92, states that the Emperor Wén Ti, *d.* B.C. 157, and the Empress

好黃老子 were fond of the words (not *book*) of the Yellow Emperor and of Lao Tzü; and that there was a personage named 河上公 Ho-shang Kung, who lived by the river in a rude hut, and taught the doctrines of Lao Tzü. The Emperor Wén Ti summoned him to Court,

but he did not appear; and so the Emperor went in person to Ho-shang and reprimanded him. Ho-shang Kung immediately 踱身空中 sprang up into the sky; at which the Emperor changed countenance, and took his leave. Ho-shang Kung then 作 made 老子章句四篇 *Lao Tzü*, with chapters and sentences, in 4 parts, and presented it to the Emperor. It discusses the essentials of 治身 selfgovernment and of 治國 government of the State.

We now seem to be within measurable distance of the *Tao Té Ching*, for which the work here mentioned may very well have served as basis, if not actually the same book.

17.—About A.D. 120 died 許慎 Hsü Shén, maker of the famous dictionary, still in every-day use, known as the 說文 *Shuo wén*. It purports to be a collection, with short explanatory notes, of all the different characters discovered by its author in Chinese literature during his own lifetime; which characters amounted to 9353, exclusive of 1163 variants. There are several characters in the *Tao Té Ching* not to be found in this dictionary, though it is inconceivable that Hsü Shén should not have had access to such a work, presuming it to be from the hand of Lao Tzü, and to have escaped the Burning of the Books.

18.—The internal evidence of the *Tao Té Ching* against its own genuineness is simply overwhelming. The hypothesis that it was pieced together at a comparatively late date,—roughly speaking, during the Han dynasty,—from traditional sayings of Lao Tzü embalmed in such writers as Chuang Tzü, Han Fei Tzü, Huai-nan Tzü, and from other sources, is amply confirmed by a careful inspection of the text. We find in this brief "classic" sayings by Lao Tzü, misquoted from the original sources, to which we must go back in order to discover the true meaning (chapters 26, 47, and especially chapter 43, in reference to which Professor Parker made the famous "discovery" dealt with on p. 51 *ante*, which I had published just twenty years before). We find sayings evidently taken from the works

of certain writers, inasmuch as portions of the commentaries of these writers have actually slipped in, and now form an integral part of the *Tao Té Ching* (chapters 7, 25). The *Tao Té Ching* contains sayings, attributed to Lao Tzü, which early writers attribute to the mythical Yellow Emperor (chapter 48); while of a saying by Lao Tzü, dealt with in *Huai-nan Tzü* (so late as the 2nd century B.C.), one half is given in chapter 21, and the other half in chapter 62. Similarly, the *Tao Té Ching* places in connection two sentences which are treated by *Huai-nan Tzü* in different parts of his work as though one had nothing to do with the other (chapter 9). A like faulty sequence is to be noted with regard to *Han Fei Tzü* and chapters 12 and 38. Repetitions—the last thing to be looked for in a short work—are common; e.g., in chapters 3 and 64, 12 and 72, 4 and 56, where four commandments are quite unnecessarily repeated, etc. In chapter 27 there is a sentence of twenty-four characters, in regard to which Ko Hung, mentioned above, has left on record the damning phrase 古本無有 “Not in the old edition.” Other sentences appear to have been altered at random according to the fancy of the Taoist editor; 其不同者如此 “such are the discrepancies” of the *Tao Té Ching*, says Ma Tuan-lin, who is by no means an unfriendly critic. Generally speaking, it may be said that those sayings in the *Tao Té Ching*—and there are many—which can be traced, so far as tradition goes, back to Lao Tzü through their preservation in some early writer, though often difficult, are almost always intelligible; whereas the text which fills the intervening spaces, and which I take to be the padding of the forger, is invariably the reverse. See, for instance, chapter 6, as translated by Professor Parker on page 51 *ante*.

The conflicting character of many of Lao Tzü's statements was pointed out by 孫盛 Sun Shêng of the 4th cent. A.D.—

其書往往矛盾 this book is often contradictory,

and also by the philosopher 稱頤 Ch'êng I, A.D. 1033–1107,

其言自不相入處如冰岸 these words are as antagonistic as ice and fire,

while 王安石 Wang An-shih, the famous Reformer, in regard to one of what Professor Parker (*op. cit.*, p. 47) calls the "noble abstractions" of Lao Tzü, says,

坐求其無之爲用也則近於愚矣

to sit down and hope to make use of what does not exist, is to be next door to a fool.

It was after considerable study of the *Tao Té Ching*, and with most of the above facts staring me in the face, that I came in 1886 to the conclusion, published in *The Remains of Lao Tzü*, that this notorious work could not possibly have come from the hand of Lao Tzü; a conclusion which I now hold more strongly than ever. Other persons, however, see with other eyes; and Professor Parker, in the January number of the *Asiatic Quarterly*, 1906, has denounced in no measured terms what he is kind enough to call my "obsolete and cranky views," adding (p. 168) "which I believe have never been accepted by any sinologist of sound standing." Here Professor Parker gets himself into a second dilemma; for on page ix of *China and Religion* he writes, "I regard M. Chavannes as the soundest of living sinologists," and on page 19 of volume iii of the *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society*, M. Chavannes, now Professor at the Collège de France, writes:—

En réalité, le personnage de Lao-tse est une figure indécise qui ne nous apparaît qu'à travers des légendes sans consistance. Il est fort douteux, comme l'a bien montré M. Giles, que le fameux Livre intitulé *Tao te king* soit son œuvre. Ce livre est bien plutôt un recueil d'aphorismes qui ont été réunis par quelque compilateur sous les Han postérieurs et attribués à Lao tse.

Finally, to bring this long-drawn agony to a close. In the *Asiatic Quarterly* of January 1905, p. 208, we have the following

further challenge from Professor Parker, to which especial attention should be paid:—

The present writer has never once, in perusing over 1,000 Chinese volumes of 2,000 years' history, come across one single Chinese hint that Lao-tsz's Classic has ever once been supposed by any Chinese to be un-authentic.

Again, in the *Asiatic Quarterly* for January, 1906, page 167, the challenge is repeated:—

So far as I have been able to ascertain, no Chinese historian or author of repute, at any date whatever, has ever suggested that the classic is in any degree spurious.

These wild remarks simply go to show that for Professor Parker the history of Taoism is a sealed book. He is in fact a mere beginner, as in the days when he gave to the world his immortal translation of 盜亦有道, which he found to be the equivalent of "There is honour among thieves!" This obvious conclusion is moreover obligingly verified by himself in his article on Taoism in the *Dublin Review* for July, 1903, p. 128, where he says that he "survived the nineteenth century" without either "seriously studying or superficially toying with Chinese philosophical literature." His apprenticeship, therefore, scarcely justifies quite such dogmatic statements, as indeed the following quotations will amply prove.

I have already alluded to Yang Shih's verdict that the *Tao Te Ching* could not possibly be from the hand of Lao Tzū, and to an essay by Yeh Shih in which the same conclusion is stated; let us now take two more from the dozens of great Chinese scholars who have denied the genuineness of the "classic." And as Professor Parker claims an especial acquaintance with history, the first example shall be from the biography of the scholar and statesman 崔浩 Ts'ui Hao, as given in the 魏書 History of the Wei dynasty, *chuan* 35. It is rendered all the more interesting by the fact that Ts'ui Hao died so far back as A.D. 450:—

崔浩性不好老莊之書每讀不過數十行輒棄之曰此矯誣之說不近人情必非老子所作

Ts'ui Hao was not fond of the writings of Lao Tzǔ and Chuang Tzǔ. Whenever he read, he did not get through many pages before he threw the book aside and cried out, These wilful and false statements, altogether out of keeping with human nature, were certainly never made by Lao Tzǔ.

Ts'ui Hao seems to have accepted without question Ssu-ma Ch'ien's story of Confucius seeking instruction in ceremonies from Lao Tzǔ, and was therefore, short of self-stultification, bound to discredit the genuineness of the *Tao Té Ching*.

Again, 湛若水 Chan Jo-shui, whose style was 元明 Yüan-ming, was 91 in 1556, and must consequently, according to Chinese reckoning, have been born in 1466. He graduated as 進士 *chin shih*, passed through the Han-lin College, and rose to be President of the Board of War. He was a brilliant scholar, and his collected works were published in 1681 under the title of 甘泉文集 *Kan ch'üan wén chi*. Amongst these will be found an essay, in the form of a conversation, which is entitled 非老子 *Fei Lao Tzǔ* = "Not Lao Tzǔ." A questioner, named 蕭時中 Hsiao Shih-chung, probably a brother of the well-known 蕭一中 Hsiao I-chung who was born in 1517, pointed out to Chan that the *Tao Té Ching* attacked 仁 charity and 義 duty towards one's neighbour, and asked,

此書果作於老聃之手 If this book was written by Lao Tzǔ, 則在孟子之前 which would make it anterior to Mencius, 而孟子必闢之矣然孟子未嘗見闢 how it was that Mencius, who would necessarily have denounced it, never did so denounce it?

The answer was,

可見老子在周時只是一個老實人其時此書人未偽作孟子從何闢

The fact is that Lao Tzü was merely a worthy man who lived under the Chou dynasty; and since at that date this book had not been forged, how could Mencius denounce it?

Chan adds,

**其孟子未闢未有此書也** Mencius did not denounce it, because it was not in existence.

As to the "interviews with Confucius," we read in the same essay,

**夫子論語無一言及老子可知與老不相遇後儒附會** In the *Analects* of Confucius, there is not a single word referring to Lao Tzü, from which we may know that the two never met. The story is an addition by later scholars.

Finally, Chan says,

**吾非老子不是非老聃也乃非老子書也**  
My attack on Lao Tzü is not an attack on the man, but on the book.

## THE FOUR CLASSES

### 士農工商

The following statement, by Baron Suyematsu to an interviewer, is not without interest;—

*British Caste.*—Since my last visit I seem to see the breaking down of your caste system. You British may not know it, but you have a caste system which is hardly equalled anywhere in Europe. The social distinctions between your classes are truly wonderful. At the same time, the harmony between the upper, middle, and lower classes, seems to be better preserved in England than anywhere. We place our people in four classes—soldiers, farmers, artisans, and traders. We place the artisan before the commercial man, believing that the man who makes a thing is greater than the man who barters with it. Here the classes are merging into each other, no doubt, due to improved education, at the same time it surprises one accustomed to the uniform system of education in Japan, to see so little unity about the British system.

*London and China Telegraph*, Jan. 1, 1906.

The italicised pronouns refer of course to the Japanese, who are however, here as elsewhere, mere borrowers from China. This division of the nation into four classes was known to the Chinese a thousand years before Christ, and is mentioned in the Book of History under 周官 the Officials of Chou. Baron Suyematsu does not even give the correct meaning, which is, Officials, Farmers, Artisans, and Traders. It is incorrect to translate 士 by "soldiers;" that is a later meaning. Thus, in the biographical notice of 王禹偁 Wang Yü-ch'êng, found in the 宋史 History of the Sung dynasty, we read:—古者惟有四民兵不在其數 *etc.*

In ancient times there were only four classes of the people; soldiers were not included. For in those days the tillers of the soil were themselves soldiers; but from the 秦 Ch'in dynasty onwards, the fighting men refused to perform agricultural duties, so that a new class grew up outside the four original classes.

In its earliest use, the word 士 referred especially to civilians; hence such general phraseology as 賢士國之寶 "a virtuous official is his country's jewel."

A little work recently published by the Chinese Maritime Customs, entitled 王財節畧 *Li ts'ai chieh lüeh*, states in its opening lines that the precedence of the four classes, as enumerated above, under which 商爲之殿 "the merchant is placed last," dates only from the reign of the first Emperor of the Han dynasty, who came to the throne in B.C. 206. It appears that certain merchants refused to supply grain for the use of the Imperial troops, and that the Emperor 是以設計以困辱 "designed this plan in order to spite them." This is probably one of the *ben trovato* stories which abound in Chinese popular literature. At any rate, the same classification will be found in the works of the philosopher 荀況 Hsün K'uang, who flourished in the 3rd century B.C. The account given in ch. 食貨志 of the History of the Han dynasty merely says that in order to punish merchants for their opposition to part of his fiscal policy, the Emperor above-mentioned, on the establishment of peace, 令賈人不得衣絲乘車 forbade the said merchants either to wear silk or to ride in chariots.

## VENTRILLOQUISM IN CHINA

During a prolonged stay in China I was never able to find out if the Chinese had discovered the art of ventriloquism, or even if there was any term in the language by which the idea could be expressed. No one seemed to know anything about this form of trickery; and, although of course it may easily have escaped me, I cannot recall any passage in *Notes and Queries*, *The China Review*, and similar repertories, where any allusion to the matter has been made by any foreign writer on Chinese subjects. Lobscheid, in his egregious English-Chinese dictionary, where "demigod" appears as 半神, gives 腹言 as the equivalent; and Hartell, whose later dictionary is hardly an improvement, gives 肚言. Both of these mean "belly-words," and are purely foreign terms, based upon the old Greek belief that ventriloquism was actually produced from the belly (Cf. the post-classical *ἴγγαστριμυθος*; or *ἴγγαστριμαντις*). But all is said to come to him who waits; and recently I lighted upon such a reference in a most unexpected quarter.

In the *History of the Chin Dynasty*, ch. 五行志, there is a story of a man who was living under the 吳 Wu dynasty at the modern 湖州 Hu-chou in Chekiang, and who,

after recovering from an attack of 困病 (?) lethargy, found that 能以響言 he could ventriloquise. 言以此而聞於彼 What he spoke here, could be heard over there; but those who stood near him could not hear his voice at all loud, whereas at a distance from him, the sound was exactly that of some one answering, though it did not appear

to come from a distance (but to be at the spot where it was heard). The sound always went in the direction towards which he turned, and even to so far as a mile or two away. This man used to imitate the voice of a neighbour, who had been away from home for a long time on business, and make him talk about his prospects, and so forth. He made the furniture, etc., appear to be possessed by spirits, and threw everything into confusion, declaring all the time that he did not know how he did it, and that it was a judgment on him.

*The Shu King, or the Chinese Historical Classic.* Translated from the ancient text, with a commentary, by Walter Gorn Old, M.R.A.S. (The Theosophical Publishing Society, London and Benares, 1904.)

There was ample room for a new English translation of the above work, with short notes, useful to the student, but designed chiefly for the benefit of the general reader. Nor was it by any means necessary that such a venture should be based on original research, or throw any new lights either on the difficult text or on its bewilderingly complex history. All that one had a right to expect was that it should be reasonably accurate, and embody in concise form the main results of Dr. Legge's Herculean labours. Unfortunately, Mr. Old's work is very far from fulfilling even these modest requirements. To begin with, we are calmly told in the preface that the author had no opportunity of consulting Dr. Legge's translation before his own was completed. One would think he was speaking of a casual publication issued in the previous week, not of a standard work that has been before the world since 1865! The reader, however, will "pay me a great compliment," he continues, "if he will take the Doctor's translation in hand and make a cross-reading from the present version." After a fairly careful examination of the "present version," we can but hope that no person values his time so little as to make either a cross-reading or any other sort of reading from it. Based on Medhurst's translation of 1846, which, though not a discreditable piece of work at the time, has now been so entirely superseded as to be worth intrinsically less than the paper it is printed on, Mr. Old's book was hardly likely to be noteworthy for sound and discriminating scholarship. But even

after his preliminary avowal we were not prepared for the amazing tissue of gross blunders, hoary mistranslations, and slovenliness of every description which confronts us in these pages.

Mr. Old has apparently constructed a new system of transliteration, which the uninitiated, however, might very easily mistake for a mere jumble of various other systems. Thus, 始皇帝 is "Che-hwang-ti" on p. v, and "Che-wang-ti" on p. x, whereas 父 is "Prince Shih." We have "Shing-nung" for 神農, and the monstrosity "Puon-kang," for 盤庚. On p. 240, "tse lin" is Mr. Old's attempt at transcribing 四鄰. One chapter is headed "The Instructions of E," while another is called "The Hound of Li." This last is an adaptation of Medhurst, who has "Le"; but the Chinese happens to be 旅, which is *lǔ* or *leu*. To such trifles as aspirates Mr. Old is serenely indifferent. Hence "Tai-kia" (also misprinted Tai-kai) for 太甲, "Kung" for 命, "Chun Tsiu" for 春秋. But even in error he is not consistent; for he has "Tang" on p. 75 and "T'ang" on p. 82, though the character in both cases is 湯. The blunder is faithfully repeated in the table of contents, and is the harder to explain, as even Medhurst shows the aspirate.

Turning now to the mistranslations, we find them in such exuberant plenty that it is positively hard to make a selection. Perhaps the best way will be to take only the worst out of a single short chapter, such as 命 "The Charge to Ch'üng."

P. 282. "In the midst of the night I rise up to consider how I may allay my agitation." The veriest tyro could tell Mr. Old that 免愆 means "to avoid faults," not "to allay agitation."

"When orders or commands were given, they were not disregarded." The latter half of this sentence is an extraordinary rendering of 命有不臧—"they were without exception good."

P. 283. "Do not take those of voluble speech and commanding visage" for 無以巧言令色, would hardly sound plausible even

to one who had never read Bk. I, chap. 3 of the *Confucian Analects*, and was therefore unaware that 令色 means "insinuating looks."

"Do not associate with meddlesome men who will stop the ears and eyes of your officers, and induce superiors to falsify the statutes of former Kings." There are no fewer than four mistakes in this short sentence, of which the Chinese 亂無昵于愒人充耳目之官迪上以非先王之典.

(1) 愒 is not correctly translated "meddlesome;" it corresponds rather to 巧 言 above, meaning "artful-tongued."

(2) Mr. Old has rendered the second clause as though it were 充官之耳目. As it stands, the text must mean "fill the office" or "assume the function of eyes and ears."

(3) 上 refers to the Sovereign himself, and not to "superiors" in general.

(4) 非 is here obviously "set at naught," "violate," "disregard." There being no question of forgery in the case, "falsify" is devoid of any intelligible meaning.

It is generally admitted that a new translation of any work can only justify its existence if it contain a smaller percentage of error than those which have preceded it. Bearing this in mind, it is interesting to note that only one of these four blunders is taken over from Medhurst. For the other three Mr. Old appears to be solely responsible.

The next sentence, though perhaps less rich in "howlers," is so clumsily expressed that it is hard to decide whether or no the translator had a glimmering of the real meaning. 非人其吉惟貨其吉若時瘼厥官. "If you deny to men their good repute and hold the wealthy in esteem, you will in course of time, etc., etc." I will content myself with pointing out that 人 and 貨 are here strongly opposed:—"If you set less store by the *man* than by the *bribes* he has to offer, etc." For the better understanding of

the rest of the paragraph we would earnestly advise Mr. Old to defer no longer his introduction to the writings of Dr. Legge.

In the concluding sentence, "by all means" but weakly expresses the exclamatory force of 鳴呼. "Be respectfully cautious" is stupidly copied from Medhurst, inasmuch as 欽哉 is simply "be reverent!" and has nothing whatever to do with "caution." "Be reverent!" Yes, that may fitly stand as a last word of warning to Mr. Old, lest perchance, emboldened by immunity, he be again tempted with unhallowed hand to distort and mangle the remains of a venerable Chinese classic.

LIONEL GILES.

## FOOTBALL AND POLO IN CHINA<sup>1</sup>

It was on the 9th of November, 1905, while watching the Cambridge University team make their splendid stand against the famous "All Blacks," that I began to wonder if any one would take an interest in, or even believe, the fact that football was played by the Chinese several centuries before Julius Caesar landed in Britain.

Some Chinese authors, indeed, have mixed up football with polo, though both games have been described separately, and with considerable detail, by more exact scholars. There is little or no excuse, moreover, for such a jumble, as the various characters used for football, 蹴, 踢, 踏, 踏, and 蹤, 一蹴 and 筵 are rare exceptions,—all contain the element *foot*, which naturally suggests kicking; whereas all those used for polo, 打, 抛, and 擊, contain the element *hand*, which is equally suggestive of striking. 蔡孚 Ts'ai Fu of the T'ang dynasty actually says,

打毬者往之蹴踘古戲也 Ball-striking (polo) is the old game of ball-kicking (football).

Another writer, after a similar remark, adds,

蓋蹴擊一也 for kicking and striking are the same thing.

Of the two, football is by far the older game. Its invention has been ascribed, *cum omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, to the mythical Yellow Emperor of the third millennium B.C.

蹴踘者傳言黃帝所作

<sup>1</sup> This note appeared, under a somewhat different form, in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1906.

Others assign its appearance to the age of the Warring States, 3rd and 4th centuries B.C., when it formed part of the military curriculum of the day, and was a means of training soldiers and of putting their powers to a test.

### 起戰國之時踢踘兵勢也所以練武士知有材也

It is generally admitted to have been originally a military exercise, and a handbook on football, in twenty-five chapters, is said to have been in existence under the Han dynasty, say two thousand years ago.

### 漢兵家有蹴踘二十五篇

The historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien, who died about B.C. 80, in his biographical notice of Su Ch'in of the 3rd century B.C., has the following passage:—

臨薈 Lin-tzü (capital of the Ch'i State) was very rich and powerful. There were none among its inhabitants who did not perform on the pipes, or on some stringed instrument, fight cocks, race dogs, dice, or play football.

Football, 蹴鞠 *ts'u chü*, is mentioned more than once in the History of the Han Dynasty, B.C. 206—A.D. 25; and the famous commentator Yen Shih-ku, who died in 645, provides the following note:—

*Tsu* is to kick with the foot; *chü*, the ball, is made of leather and stuffed, and is kicked about for amusement.

In one passage we are told how the great general Ho Ch'ü-ping, when campaigning in the north and almost destitute of provisions for his troops,

穿城踢鞠 hollowed out a place for them to play football in,— whatever that may mean.

In the 西京雜集 *Hsi ching ts'a chi* we read,

The Emperor 成帝 Ch'êng Ti (B.C. 32—6), was fond of football; but his officers represented to him that it was both physically exhausting and also unsuitable to the Imperial dignity. His Majesty replied, We like playing; and what one chooses to do is not exhausting. An appeal was then made to the Empress, who suggested the game of 弹棋 tiddlywinks, or "squails," for the Emperor's amusement.

Towards the close of the Eastern Han dynasty (end of 2nd century A.D.), it appears from the 會稽典錄 *Kuei chi tien lu*, quoted in the 太平御覽 *T'ai ping yü lan*, that the Emperor made archery and riding his chief business, and 家以蹴踘爲學 in his private life gave himself up to football, the result being that literary studies ceased to be cultivated as before. Even the Mirror of History does not disdain to record that the Emperor 僖宗 Hsi Tsung of the T'ang dynasty, who was almost wholly given up to sport of various kinds, of which football, cockfighting, and polo are especially mentioned, in the year 881 put to death a loyal Minister for venturing to remonstrate on the subject.

The ball, as originally used by the Chinese, was a round bag made of leather, or, as a poet tells us,

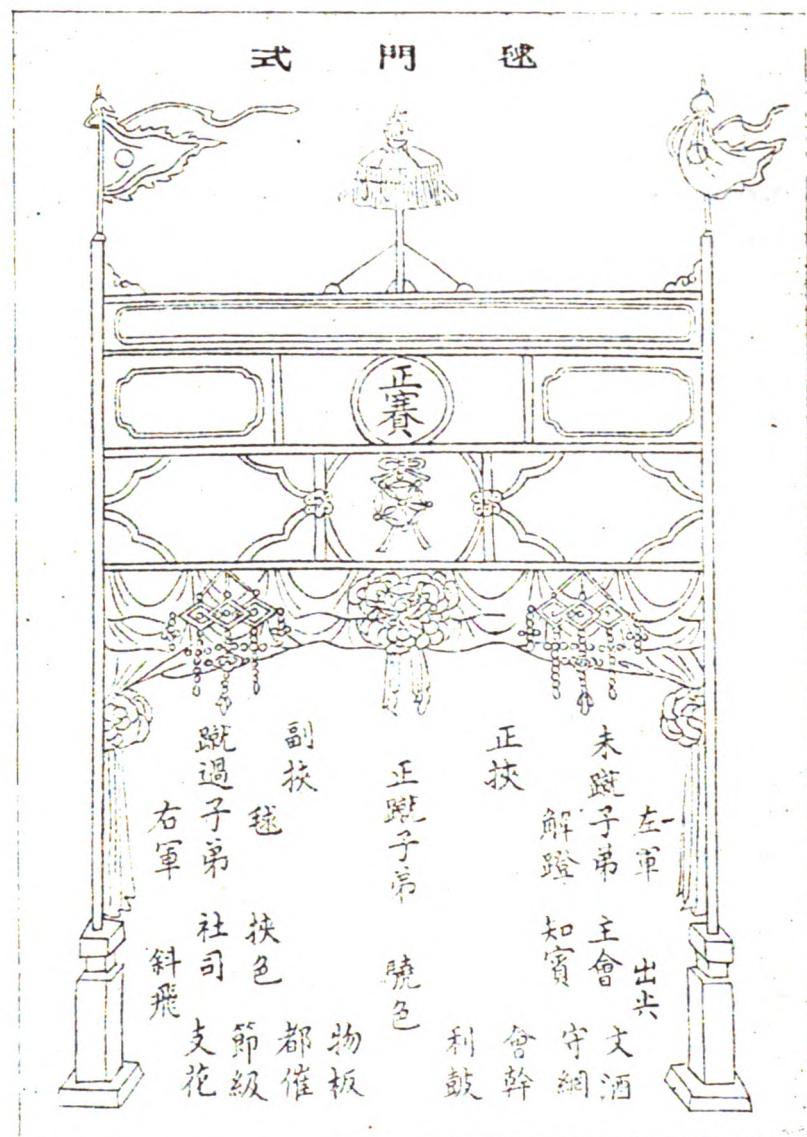
### 八片尖皮砌作毬

Eight pointed strips of leather made into a ball,

and was stuffed with hair; its roundness or otherwise does not seem to have been a matter of great importance. But from the 5th century onwards, 氣之爲毬 the ball was filled with air, and its name was changed to *ch'iu*, and roundness became an essential, because the ball was required "to 滾 roll as well as to 飛 fly through the air." One authority, already quoted, 汪雲程 Wang Yüu-ch'êng, in the 陝西通志 Topography of Shensi, says that the air-ball dates only from the T'ang dynasty, and adds that

two long bamboos were set up, several tens of feet in height, and with a silken net stretched across, over which the ball had to be kicked. The players formed themselves into two parties, and the game was decided by points.

A writer who has dealt very fully with the game, and to whom we owe many of the following particulars, states as follows:—



To inflate a football seems easy, but is really difficult. The ball must not be very hard, or it will be too bouncy, and full force cannot be used in kicking. Neither must it be very flabby, or you will have an opposite

result, and the ball will not travel when kicked. It should be about nine-tenths full of air; this will be found to hit off the mean.

Several writers have left us accounts of actual games:—

On the Emperor's birthday, two teams played football before the Imperial pavilion. A goal was set up, of over thirty feet in height, adorned with gaily coloured silks, and having an opening of over a foot in diameter.

The object of each side appears to have been to kick the ball through the opening, the players taking it in turns to kick, points being scored accordingly. The winners

were rewarded with flowers, fruit, wine, and even silver bowls and brocades.

**不勝者毬頭喫鞭** The captain of the losing side was flogged, and suffered other indignities!

In an illustration of a Chinese football goal, here given, the player who is kicking is placed in the middle, while on his right and left are seen the positions of those who have not, and those who have already kicked, respectively. Immediately behind the actual player stands the 驕色 *ch'iao sé*, whose function it appears to be to hand the ball to the captain during the progress of the game. There is also the 守網 *shǒu wǎng* net-keeper, who throws back the ball when it has failed to go through. The duties of the other attendants are not explained. The score consists of major and minor points, which are gained in particular ways; and there is a 錦語 *jin yǔ* regular terminology to be used by the players, such as *ace*, *deuce*, *tray*, etc., besides other phrases peculiar to the game. As regards play,

the body should be straight as a pencil; the hands should hang down, as though carrying things; there should be great elasticity of movement; and the feet should be as though jumping or skipping.

There are over seventy different kinds of kicks enumerated, besides endless over-elaboration in minor details. Kicking is forbidden under eleven separate conditions which constitute "fouls;" but no penalties seem to be attached; and all play is to be avoided in ten special

cases, such as on windy days, when the ground is slippery, after wine, by candlelight, etc.

Besides the game of kicking a ball through a hole in a goal,



the Chinese, to judge from the accompanying illustration, must have had some other form of play with foot and ball. This supposition

is borne out by several passages; e. g. in reference to a Taoist priest of the 16th century, who was a good player, we read,

He used shoulders, back, breast, and belly, to take the place of his feet; he could withstand several antagonists, making the ball run around his body without dropping.

Mr. R. Casson, of the I. C. S., kindly sends the following note:—"Don't you think that the kind of football he played was that which I see now going on in my compound, my Burmese boys in a ring keeping a ball in the air with foot, knee, shoulder, or anything handy? A good Burmese footballer can keep a ball rolling all over his body without letting it drop."

Then again, in an anonymous poetical account of a game, we have such sentences as,

**毬不離足足不離毬** The ball was never away from the foot, nor the foot from the ball,—

in fact, "dribbling," which would be meaningless as applied to the game described above.

It only remains to add that the names of several great footballers have been handed down to posterity, as witness:—

**王齊叟** Wang Ch'i-sou was a man of great talent; not one of the **九流** nine branches of learning<sup>1</sup> came amiss to him. In the *Hsüan ho* period (1119—1126) his reputation as a footballer was spread over the empire.

**孔桂** K'ung Kuei, a descendant of Confucius, is said to have excelled at football; and there was also a man named **張芬** Chang Fēn, who 常于福感寺趨鞠高及半塔 often, at the Fu-kan temple, would kick a ball half as high as the pagoda.

A poet, named **李尤** Li Yu, who flourished between A.D. 50 and 130, has left us an inscription which he wrote for a football ground:—

<sup>1</sup> These are enumerated as 儒, 道, 陰陽, 法, 名, 墨, 從橫, 雜, and 農.

A round ball and a square wall,  
 Suggesting the shapes of the *Yin* and the *Yang*;  
 The ball flying across like the moon,  
 While the two teams stand opposed.  
 Captains are appointed, and take their places,  
 According to unchanging regulations.  
 No allowances are made for relationship;  
 There must be no partialities.  
 But there must be determination and coolness,  
 Without the slightest irritation at failure.....  
 And if all this is necessary for football,  
 How much more so for the business of life!

Polo seems to have become known to the Chinese under the T'ang dynasty, or from about A.D. 600 onwards, when it was at first considered by some writers, as stated above, to be a revival of football, — though it was, no doubt, quite a separate game, learnt most probably by the Chinese from the conquered Tartars. The earliest mention of the game is by 沈佺期 Shén Ān-ch'i, a poet who died in 713, and it was in reference to a game played before the Emperor and his Court in the year 710.

His Majesty, who was paying a visit to his famous Pear-Garden, had given orders that all officials *above* the third grade were to take part in the game; but certain eminent statesmen were worn-out and aged, the consequence being that they were tumbled over on to the ground, and remained there, unable to rise, to the great amusement of the Emperor, Empress, and Court ladies, who all shouted with laughter at the sight.

The son and heir of this precious monarch was the famous Emperor who ruled China from 712 to 756; — brilliantly in his earlier years, surrounding himself, as he did, with men of distinction in literature, science, and art; later on giving way to dissipation and extravagance, until rebellion drove him from the throne. Not content merely to watch polo, he used to play himself. A poet, 晁无咎 Ch'ao Wu-chiu, who lived two or three hundred years afterwards, has left us this verse on

### THE EMPEROR MING HUANG PLAYING POLO

The thousand doors of the palace are open, when in broad daylight  
San Lang comes back, very drunk, from polo.....  
Ah! Chiu-ling<sup>1</sup> is old and Han Hsiu<sup>2</sup> is dead;  
Tomorrow there will be none to come forward with remonstrance.

Public opinion seems always to have been against the appearance of Emperors upon the polo-field, and many of the remonstrances of loyal statesmen have been preserved. Ma Tê-ch'êñ, who died about 984, disgusted that his Majesty "played polo to excess," presented a long memorial on the subject, from which the following is an extract:—

Your servant has heard that when two of your Majesty's predecessors went out boar-hunting and hawking, and when their Ministers remonstrated with them, they joyfully followed the advice given. Now, your Majesty 以馬毬爲樂 takes delight in polo, and your foolish servant has found on reflection three reasons why this is not a fitting sport, and will state them even at the risk of the axe.

(1) When sovereign and subject play together, there must be contention. If the sovereign wins, the subject is ashamed; if the former loses, the latter exults. That is one reason.

(2) To jump on a horse and swing a club, galloping madly here and there, with no distinctions of rank, but only eager to be first and to win, is destructive of all ceremony between sovereign and subject. That is a second reason.

(3) To make light of the responsibilities of empire, just for an hour's enjoyment, and run even the remote risk of an accident, is to disregard obligations to the State and to her Imperial Majesty the Empress. That is the third reason.

If your Majesty does not deem my words of small matter, graciously bestow a glance thereon; for the happiness of the empire is what all your Majesty's servants desire.

When this memorial was handed in, we are told, "the Emperor sighed over its excellence for a long time."

Polo was, as it still is, a sufficiently dangerous game. In 901

<sup>1</sup> For 張九齡.

<sup>2</sup> 韓休.

an important statesman was killed; and about twenty years previously a general lost an eye. The latter had reached his high position entirely through his skill at football; and as a solatium for his lost eye, he was promoted to be President of the Board of Works. So that it was not without cause that the gifted consort of an Emperor, who died in 859 from an injudicious dose of the elixir of life, hearing that an official was teaching his Majesty to play polo, sent for him and said,

You are a subject, and it is your duty to aid the Emperor to walk in the right path. Can this be done by teaching him to play? **再有聞必大杖汝矣** If I hear any more of this, I will have you well flogged.

In 1163, the reigning Emperor, who suppressed banqueting and encouraged athletics, had a very awkward accident. He had issued instructions for polo to be played regularly;

in the event of wind and rain, the ground was to be covered with a kind of oiled cloth well sprinkled with sand. His Ministers, because of the importance of the Imperial life, were unwilling that his Majesty should expose himself to danger, and handed in many memorials, to none of which any attention was paid. One day, the Emperor decided to join in the game; and after playing for a short time, he lost control of his pony. The animal bolted under a verandah, the eaves of which were very low; there was a crash, and the terror-stricken attendants crowded around to help. The pony had got through, and **上手擁楣垂** his Majesty was left hanging by his hands to the lintel. He was at once lowered to the ground; but there was no trace of alarm on his face, and pointing to the direction taken by the pony, he quietly gave orders for its recapture, at which the spectators cried out *Wan sui! Wan sui!*

The Kitan Tartars were great archers and polo-players, and we are told that their successors, the Nü-chén Tartars, carried on the tradition. On festival days, the whole Court would appear in full dress on the polo ground, and after worshipping God with offerings of food and wine and other ceremonies, the Emperor would change his dress for the various sports. There was archery to begin with; and

when that was over, there was a game of polo. The players mounted 所常習馬 well-trained ponies, and each one was provided with a 鞠杖 club, of a good many feet in length, and shaped at one end like the crescent moon. They were then divided into two teams, the object of contention to both sides being a ball. Previously, at the south end of the ground, two poles had been set up, with boarding in between, in which a hole had been cut, having a net attached to it in the form of a bag. That side which could strike the ball into the bag, were the winners. Some say that the two teams were ranged on opposite sides of the ground, each with its own goal, and that victory was gained by driving the ball through the enemy's goal. The ball itself was as small as a man's fist, made of a light but hard wood, and painted red.

Thus we read that when the young Duke of Lu was playing polo, and the ball fell into the hollow stump of a tree, his Grace poured in water and floated it out.

As regards ponies, it has already been stated that these animals were specially trained, and it may be added that in the year 951, a present of polo ponies, together with suits of clothes for the players, was conveyed by a Chinese envoy to the Court of the Kitan Tartars. Ponies, however, were not the only animals employed. We are told that the Prince of 定襄 Ting-hsiang, under the T'ang dynasty,

taught his ladies to play polo on donkey-back, providing them with inlaid saddles and jewelled bridles, together with the clothes and other paraphernalia required.

Elsewhere, we read that under the Sung dynasty

over a hundred young men dressed up as women, with bound feet and ornamental veils hanging down their backs, half of them in red and half in green brocaded robes, with elegant girdles and silken shoes, mounted on donkeys with carved saddles and ornamental trappings.

Then they divided into two sides under their respective captains, and played polo for the amusement of the Court. So great indeed was the enthusiasm for polo, that it was played even by night, the ground being illuminated by a huge display of candles. Extravagant

rewards were heaped upon polo-players, and also upon footballers, who were actually received in audience by admiring Emperors. In 881, when there was a question of certain official posts to be filled up, the Emperor caused the four candidates to play a polo tournament, and allotted the chief post to the winner. The climax is perhaps reached when a maker of polo-clubs, as duly recorded in the 錄異記 Book of Marvels, was taken up to heaven in broad daylight.

## ON EXORCISM

The following is a translation, by Professor A. Forke of the Oriental School at Berlin, of chapter 44 of the 論衡 *Lun Heng* of 王充 Wang Ch'ung, A.D. 27—97, and is intended as a specimen of a fuller version of this important work which Professor Forke proposes to publish at an early date.—H. A. G.

The world believes in sacrifices, trusting that they procure happiness, and it approves of exorcism, fancying that it will remove evil influences. Exorcism begins with the ceremony of presenting an offering. An offering is like a banquet given by the living to their guests. First the ghosts are treated like guests and given a meal, but, when they have eaten it, they are expelled with swords and sticks. Provided that ghosts and spirits possess consciousness, they would indubitably resent such a treatment, offering resistance and fighting, and would refuse to leave forthwith. In their anger, they would justly cause misfortune. If they are not conscious, then they cannot do mischief. In that case exorcising would be of no use, and its omission would do no harm.

Moreover, what shape do people ascribe to ghosts and spirits? If they believe them to have a shape, this shape must be like that of living men. Living men in a passion would certainly make an attempt upon the lives of their adversaries. If they have no shape, they would be like mist and clouds. The expulsion of clouds and mist, however, would prove ineffectual.

As we cannot know their shapes, we can neither guess their feelings. For what purpose would ghosts and spirits gather in human

dwellings? In case they earnestly wish to kill people, they would avoid their aggressors, when they drive them out, and abscond; but, as soon as the expulsion ceases, they would return, and re-occupy their former places. Should they have no murderous intentions, and only like to dwell in human houses, they would cause no injury, even if they were not expelled.

When grandees go out, thousands of people assemble to have a look at them, thronging the streets and filling the alleys, and striving for the places in front. It is not before the soldiers repel them, that they go away, but no sooner have the soldiers turned their backs, than they return to their places. Unless the soldiers kept watch the whole day without leaving their post, they could not restrain them, because they are bent on having a look and would not go home on account of having been driven back once. Provided that ghosts and spirits resemble living men, they would feel attracted to their homes in the same way as those thousands are determined on sight-seeing. If the soldiers repelling them do not keep watch for a long while, the lookers-on do not disperse, and unless expelled during a whole year, the ghosts would not leave. Now, being expelled after they have finished their meal, they would retire, but having retired, come back again; for what could prevent them?

When grain is being dried in a court-yard, and fowls and sparrows pick it up, they escape, when the master drives them off, but return, when he relaxes his vigilance. He is unable to keep the fowls and sparrows at bay, unless he watches the whole day. If the ghosts be spirits, they would be like fowls and sparrows, and nothing but a constant repulse could frighten them away.

When tigers and wolves enter into a territory, they are pursued with bows and cross-bows, but even their deaths do not do away with the cause of those terrible visits. When brigands and insurgents assault a city, the imperial troops may beat them, but not-

withstanding this rebuff, the cause of their frightful incursions is not removed thereby. The arrival of tigers and wolves corresponds to a disorganised government, that of rebels and bandits, to a general disorder. Thus the gathering of ghosts and spirits is indicative of the sudden end of life. By destroying tigers and wolves and by defeating insurgents and bandits one cannot bring about a reform of the government or re-establish order, neither is it possible to remove misfortune or prolong life by ever so much exorcising and expelling ghosts and spirits.

Sick people see ghosts appear, when their disease has reached its climax. Those who are of a strong and violent character will grasp the sword or the cudgel and fight with the ghosts. They will have one or two rounds, until at last, having missed a thrust, they are forced to surrender, for, unless they surrender, the duel will not come to a close. The ghosts expelled by exorcism are not different from those perceived by sick people, nor is there any difference between expelling and fighting. As the ghosts will not withdraw though assailed by sick people, the conjurations of the master of the house will not prevail upon the ghosts and spirits to leave. Consequently of what use would be such conjurations for the house? Therefore we cannot accept the belief that evil influences might thus be neutralised.

Furthermore, the ghosts which are expelled from the house live there as guests. The hosts are the Twelve Spirits of the house, such as the Green Dragon and the White Tiger and the other spirits occupying the Twelve Cardinal Points.

In addition to the Green Dragon and White Tiger Wang Ch'ung mentions the 太歲 *Tai-sui*, 登明 *Teng-ming* and 從魁 *Tsung-k'uei* as such spirits.

The Dragon and the Tiger are fierce spirits and the chief ghosts of heaven.

The Green Dragon and the White Tiger are also names of the eastern and western quadrants of the solar mansions.

Flying corpses and floating goblins would not venture to gather against their will, as, when a host is fierce and bold, mischievous guests would not dare to intrude upon him. Now the Twelve Spirits have admitted the others into the house, and the master drives them away. That would be nothing less than throwing out the guests of the Twelve Spirits. Could such a hatred against the Twelve Spirits secure happiness? If there are no Twelve Spirits, there are no flying corpses or goblins either, and without spirits and goblins exorcism would be of no avail and the expulsion have no sense.

Exorcism is an imitation of the old ceremony of the expulsion of sickness. In ancient times 顛頊 Chuan Hsü had three sons, who vanished, when they had grown up. One took up his abode in the water of the Yangtse and became the 虐鬼 Ghost of Fever, one lived in the 若 Jo River and became a 魂魎 Water Spirit, and one in damp and wet corners as the arbiter of sickness. At the end of the year, when all business had been finished, sick people used to drive out the Spirit of Sickness, and believed that by seeing off the old year and going to meet the new one they obtained luck. The world followed this example, whence originated exorcism. But even the ceremony of driving out sickness is out of place.

When Yao and Shun practised their virtues, the empire enjoyed perfect peace, the manifold calamities vanished, and, though the diseases were not driven out, the Spirit of Sickness did not make its appearance. When Chieh and Chou did their deeds, everything within the seas was thrown into confusion, all the misfortunes happened simultaneously, and although the diseases were expelled day by day, the Spirit of Sickness still came back. Declining ages have faith in ghosts, and the unintelligent will pray for happiness. When the Chou were going to ruiu, the people believed in ghosts

and prepared sacrifices with the object of imploring happiness and the divine help. Narrow-minded rulers fell an easy prey to imposture, and took no heed of their own actions, but they accomplished nothing creditable, and their administration remained unsettled.

All depends upon man, and not on ghosts, on their virtue, and not on sacrifices. The end of a State is far or near, and human life is long or short. If by offerings, happiness could be obtained, or if misfortune could be removed by exorcism, kings might use up all the treasures of the world for the celebration of sacrifices to delay the end of their reign, and old men and women of rich families might pray for the happiness to be gained by conjurations with the purpose of obtaining an age surpassing the usual span.

Long and short life, wealth and honour of all mortals are determined by fortune and destiny, and as for their actions, whether they prove successful or otherwise, there are times of prosperity and decline. Sacrifices do not procure happiness, for happiness does not depend on oblations. But the world believes in ghosts and spirits to receive these sacrifices; the knowing do not concern themselves about them.

Sacrifices are meant as a kindness done to ghosts and spirits, and yet they do not bring about luck and happiness. Now fancy that those spirits are expelled by brute force. Could that bring any profit?

The sacrificial rites and the methods of exorcism are very numerous. We will prove their uselessness by one example, for from a small sacrifice one may draw a conclusion as to great ones, and from one ghost learn to know all spirits.

When people have finished the building of a house or a cottage, excavated the ground, or dug up the soil, they propitiate the Spirit of Earth after the whole work has been completed, and call this appeasing the earth. They make an earthen figure to

resemble a ghost. The wizards chant their prayers to reconcile the Spirit of Earth; and when the sacrifice is over they become gay and cheerful, and pretend that the ghosts and spirits have been propitiated, and misfortunes and disasters removed. But if we get at the bottom of it, we find that all this is illusive.

Why? Because the material earth is like the human body, whose head and feet are tens of thousands of *li* apart. Mankind lives upon earth as fleas and lice stick to the human body. Fleas and lice feed upon man, and torment his skin, as men dig up the earth, and torment its body. Should some among the fleas and lice, being aware of this, wish to appease man's heart, and for that purpose assemble to propitiate him near the flesh, which they have eaten, would man know about it? Man cannot comprehend what fleas and lice say, as Earth does not understand the speech of man.

The 魁 Hu and the 越 Yüeh have the same ears and mouths, and are animated by similar feelings, but even if they speak mouth to mouth and ear to ear they cannot understand each other. And should there be a communication between the ears and the mouth of Earth and man, who does not resemble her?

Moreover, who is it that hears what man says? Should it be Earth, her ears are too far away to hear, and if it be the earth of one special house, this earth is like an atom of human flesh, how could it understand anything? If the spirit of the house be the hearer, one ought to speak of appeasing the house, but not of appeasing Earth.

The Rites prescribe that entering into the ancestral hall one must not find a master there.

The image of the departed, who as master dwells in the ancestral hall.

One has made the device of cutting a wooden tablet, one foot and two inches long, and calling it the master, and one serves it in

the spirit, but does not make a human likeness. Now, at the propitiatory sacrifices to Earth, they make an earthen human figure resembling the shape of a ghost. How could that have a propitiatory effect? Spirits are diffuse, vague, and incorporeal; entering and departing they need no aperture, whence their name of spirits. Now to make a bodily image is not only in opposition to the Rites, but also reveals a misapprehension of the nature of spirits. We know that they have no likeness, therefore, when the mats are spread for sacrifices, no figures of ghosts are put up.

If at the propitiatory service for Earth they set up human figures, could a stone effigy be used at the sacrifice to the Mountains, or could a wooden man be made for the sacrifice to the Gates and Doors?

No figures are used at the sacrifices to those deities.

### When 中行寅 Chung Hang Yiu of 晉 Chin

A nobleman, related to the ducal house of Chin, of the 5th cent. B.C. The Chung Hang family possessed large domains in Chin.

was near his end, he summoned his high priest, wishing to punish him. "The victims," said he, "which you have immolated for me, have not been fat and glossy. You have not observed the rules of fasting with reverence, and thus have caused the ruin of my State. Is it not so?"

The priest replied in plain terms, "Formerly, my old lord, 中行密子 Chung Hang Mi Tse, possessed ten chariots, and did not feel grieved at their small number, but at the insufficiency of his righteousness. Your Lordship has a hundred war-chariots, and does not feel distressed that his justice is so imperfect, but merely regrets that his chariots do not suffice. When vessels and chariots are well equipped, the taxes must be high, and the taxes being heavy, the people defame and curse their sovereign. If he then

offers sacrifices, of what use can it be to his State? These curses must also ruin the State. One man prays for him, and the whole State curses him. One prayer cannot overcome ten thousand curses. Is it not quite natural that a State should perish thus? What is the guilt of the priest?" Chung Hang Yin then felt ashamed.

The people of to-day rely on sacrifices like Chung Hang Yin. They do not improve their conduct, but multiply the prayers, do not honour their superiors, but fear the ghosts. When they die, or misfortune befalls them, they ascribe it to noxious influences, maintaining that they have not yet been regulated. When they have been regulated and offerings prepared, and misfortunes are as numerous as before, and do not cease, they make the sacrifice answerable, declaring that they have not been performed with sufficient reverence.

As regards exorcism, exorcism is of no use, and as regards sacrifices, sacrifices are of no avail. As respects wizards and priests, wizards and priests have no power, for it is plain that all depends upon man, and not on ghosts, on his virtue, and not on sacrifices.

## THE MARINER'S COMPASS

In an amusing after-dinner speech, recently delivered through an interpreter to the China Association, his Imperial Highness Duke Tsai Chi is reported to have said—

It is well known that the mariner's compass was invented in China, and to mention no greater results from its extended application in your hands, one very happy result at any rate is that we have been safely navigated to your hospitable shores. Gunpowder and guns had also their origin in China. A very harmless beginning, and there it might have stayed; but on the occasion of our recent visit to Woolwich Arsenal we noticed how greatly our germ had developed; and the idea suggested itself whether we had benefited mankind in making the discovery.

(*London and China Telegraph*, 17 April, 1906).

Now no ordinary Chinaman would ever think of boasting that his countrymen invented either the compass or gunpowder and guns, for the simple reason that it would never occur to him that they had not invented them. He would certainly know nothing about the bitter controversy, waged entirely by foreigners, as to the proper allocation of the honours in question.

The Jesuit Fathers, de Mailla and Gaubil, of the 18th century, seem to have been satisfied that the compass was known to the Chinese in very early days, not only ages before it played any part in the civilisation of the West, but so far back as a thousand years and more before Christ. This position was hotly disputed by Dr. Legge in 1865, who concluded his note (*Chinese Classics*, V, p. 587) as follows:—

The truth, I imagine, is this, that the Chinese got some knowledge of the compass—found it out themselves, or learned it from India—not long before the Christian era, and that then the fables about the making of south-pointing chariots in more ancient times were invented.

He was backed up by Mayers in 1869 (*Notes and Queries*, iv, p. 11), who rashly and wrongly declared that Dr. Legge had

assembled the entire number of passages, occurring in ancient authors, which have given rise to the existing belief in the antiquity of this invention.

Neither was Mayers more happy in his

curious discovery respecting the probable date when the properties of the magnetic needle were in reality first observed in China—by Ma Kiün, a famous mechanician who flourished at the court of Ming Ti of the Wei dynasty, A.D. 227—239,—a brief notice of whom was met with by accident among the fragments of the works of Fu Tsze.

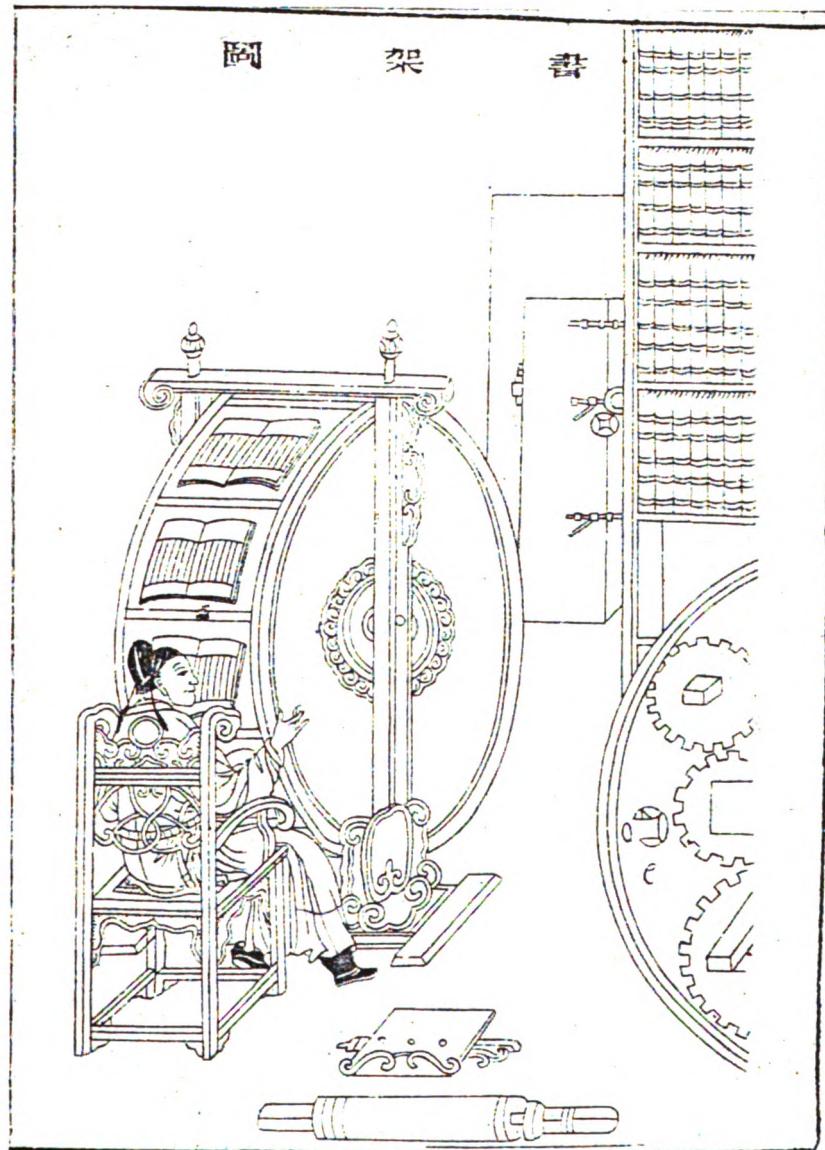
In 1891, Dr. Chalmers took a hand in the fray (*China Review*, xix, p. 52), opening his attack with the following words:—

Having long observed the intense desire the Chinese have to appropriate to themselves the invention of all sorts of things; and having once or twice already exposed the hollowness of their claims, as in the case of the 'striking clock' not regulated by a *pendulum* but by running water, I feel inclined to pity them when their long acknowledged claim to the early possession of the mariner's compass is called in question.

Dr. Chalmers goes on to say that he will give the facts of the case, leaving others to judge; but his note is eminently unsatisfying, as he only tells us in a vague way something of what the Chinese have said on the subject, and does not quote the *ipsissima verba* of native writers.

It is true that the Chinese have occasionally laid claim, and without any grounds, to purely western inventions; *e. g.* to the revolving reading-desk. Inspection, however, of the accompanying illustration will show that there are *bound* books in the bookcase, standing on end instead of lying, Chinese fashion, on their sides.

I now propose to omit all serious mention of the story, mistakenly said by Dr. Legge to be "given by Sze-ma Ts'een," in



which we are told that when the Yellow Emperor was enveloped in a mist by the first rebel, **蚩尤** Ch'ih Yu, his legendary Majesty

promptly invented the south-pointing chariot to guide himself and his army safely out of it, and finally succeeded in putting his rival to death. Also, to ignore the work known as the 古今注 *Ku chin chü*, attributed to 崔豹 Ts'ui Pao of the 4th century A.D., on the ground that its genuineness is not beyond dispute, and to pass on to § 18, p. 4 *recto* of the official History of the Sung Dynasty, A.D. 420–478, written by the well-known scholar and statesman 沈約 Shén Yo, who lived A.D. 441–513. This authority is not even mentioned by either Legge, Mayers, or Chalmers; yet it contains a fairly full historical account of the whole matter, and its authenticity can in no way be impugned. It runs as follows:—

“The south-pointing chariot was originally constructed by 周公 the Duke of Chou (12th century B.C.), as a means of conducting homewards certain envoys who had arrived from a great distance from beyond the frontiers. The country to be traversed was a boundless flat, where the envoys would be likely to lose their bearings; therefore the Duke made for the first time this chariot, so that the envoys might always be able to distinguish north from south.

鬼谷子 Kuei-ku Tzü

The Philosopher of the Demon Gorge, a name given to 王弼 Wang Hsü, 4th century B.C.

states that the people of the 鄭 Chêng State, when collecting jade, always carried with them a 'south-pointer,' and were thus saved from going astray.

This seems to have been understood to mean that jade has itself the property of "pointing south" (see p. 113).

During the Ch'in and Western Han dynasties, however, nothing more was heard of this compass. Under the Eastern Han dynasty

it was re-invented by 張衡 Chang Hêng (A.D. 78–139), but disappeared in the troubles amidst which the dynasty closed.

高堂隆 Kao T'ang-lung and 秦朗 Ch'in Lang of the Wei dynasty were both famous scholars.

The latter was a military commander. I can find no record of the former. They disputed the point before the Court, saying, 'There is no such thing as a south-pointing chariot; the story is a fabrication.' The Emperor Ming Ti, during the Ch'ing-lung period (A.D. 233–237), gave orders to the scholar 馬鈞 Ma Chün to re-construct it, and the chariot was duly made, but was again lost during the troubles of the 晉 Chiu dynasty. 石虎 Shih Hu caused 解飛 Hsieh Fei, and 姚興 Yao Hsing caused 令狐生 Ling-hu Shêng, to make others.

Shih Hu was the successor, in A.D. 332, of 石勒 Shih Lo, ruler of 後趙 the Later Chao, one of the Sixteen States. Yao Hsing was ruler, from A.D. 394 to 416, of another State, the Western (or Later) 秦 Ch'in.

The Emperor An Ti in A.D. 417, and the Emperor Wu Ti of the Sung dynasty, when he settled Ch'ang-an, finally obtained this chariot. Its make was like that of a drum-chariot. A wooden figure of a man was fixed on the top, with an arm raised and pointing southwards, in such a way that although the chariot turned round, the arm still pointed south. This chariot, with the general impedimenta, went first, to lead the way.

The same chariot, as constructed by the 戎狄 western tribes (? Tibetans), did not work anything like so well; and although called a south-pointing chariot, very often did not point true, and had to be taken slowly round turns, as though dependent upon the help of man for its accuracy.

A man of 范陽 Fau-yang, named 祖沖之 Tsu Ch'ung-chih, who had an ingenious turn, often said that another chariot ought to be made.

Tsu Ch'ung-chih was a famous mathematical and mechanical genius, who died A.D. 500. "He constructed a machine which, not dependent on wind or water power, would **自運不勞人力** revolve of itself, without any aid from man." Also a boat, which **日行百餘里** "would travel over 100 *li* a day,"—presumably by some mechanical means.

The Emperor Shun Ti, at the close of the Shêng-ning period (A.D. 477—479), when the Prince of Ch'i was his Minister, ordered him to make a chariot; and when completed, it was tested by **王僧虔** Wang Sêng-ch'ien, Military Governor of **丹陽** Tan-yang, and by Liu Hsiu, President of the Censorate. Its workmanship was excellent, and although the chariot was twisted and turned in a hundred directions, the hand never failed to point south. Under the Chin dynasty there was also a south-pointing ship.

The former, A.D. 426—485, was an eminent statesman and calligraphist. On one occasion, the first Emperor of the Southern Ch'i dynasty, who greatly fancied himself as a calligraphist, challenged him to **賭書** a trial of skill, and when they had finished, asked him whose was the best. "Mine is the best," replied Wang, "and your Majesty's is also the best." "Ah," said the Emperor with a laugh; **卿可謂善自謀矣** "you know how to take care of your skin."

**拓跋燾** Toba Tao (third Emperor of the Northern Wei dynasty, died 452) caused an artificer named **郭善明** Kuo Shan-ming, to construct a south-pointing chariot, which was not completed in a year. There was also a man of **扶風** Fu-fêng, named **馬岳** Ma Yo, who made one; and when he had completed it Kuo Shan-ming poisoned him."

.....

The above account must be taken to represent all the available information from Chinese sources as to any early knowledge of the compass. Further mention of the famous chariot is made in later histories, such as those of the Wei, Northern Ch'i, and T'ang dynasties, as may be seen by reference to the *P'ei wén yün fu*; but

I can find nothing therein of any particular interest. There is, however, one passage from the *蜀志許靖傳* *Shu chih hsü ching chuan* biography of Hsü Ching in the History of the Shu Kingdom, written by Ch'êng Shou, A.D. 233—297, which may be worth quoting. It is this:—

### 足下當以爲指南

You, sir, ought to take him as a compass (guide).

This figurative use of the term seems to presuppose the existence of something at any rate which was known to point invariably to the south. The Chinese idea as to what that was is shown in the annexed illustration, taken from the *圖書集成* *T'u shu chi ch'êng* (A.D. 1726), where we are told that the figure of the man was 1.42 feet in height, and made of jade (see p. 110); also that the man stands on a swivel which is fitted through the head of Ch'ih Yu, the great rebel (see *ante*),—a motive constantly met with in Chinese decorative art. The writer declares that about A.D. 1317 he actually saw the chariot himself, and that the jade was slightly discoloured, apparently from age.

The Chinese have of course known the loadstone and its property from very early ages. It is mentioned in the *山海經* *Shan hai ching*,—always to be quoted with reservations; also by Huai-nan Tzü of the 2nd century B.C., who says, “it will attract iron but not copper.” In the *三輔黃圖* *San fu huang t'u*, we read,—

The gateways of the Pleasaunce of O-fang (3rd cent. B.C.) were made of loadstone, so that anyone who was concealing weapons would be stopped.

In the *易各從其類疏* *I ko ts'ung ch'i lei su* (quoted in the *P'ei wén yün fu*) we read:—

Not only is there a mutual attraction between likes, but also between unlikes; as for instance the loadstone, which attracts needles, and amber, which picks up snips.

The most important passage of all comes from the *夢溪筆談*

*Méng ch'i pi t'an*, by 沈括 Shén Kua, A.D. 1030–1093, famous



for his great learning, and also for his disastrous defeat by the  
Kitan Tartars. It runs as follows:—

Necromancers rub the point of a needle with the loadstone, and then it will point south.

Shêu Kua lived, it will be noted, somewhere about the time at which the compass appears to have first become known to the Western world. Whether the Chinese were acquainted with the magnetic needle before that date or not, the reader will now be able to judge for himself.

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MOSES (*see* p. 55).

Professor Chavannes has kindly favoured me with the following note:—

En ce qui concerne le passage du *San ts'ai t'ou houei*, je crois qu'il s'agit, non de Moïse, mais d'Ismaël (*Sseu-ma-yen*), fils du patriarche Abraham (*P'ou lo heou*); c'est à la Mecque (*Mo-k'ia*) que se trouve en effet le fameux puits de Zemzim qui passe pour être la source miraculeuse où s'abreuve la mère d'Ismaël; nous avons donc affaire ici d'une tradition musulmane qui a pu être apportée par les pèlerins chinois qui dès le 15 siècle, visitèrent les lieux saints de l'Arabie.

## TWO YANGS

Students of "The Chinese Classics," as translated and annotated by Dr. Legge, must have frequently been struck by the amazing industry and the extraordinary accuracy of the great Aberdonian. Of him it may be said,—with far more justice than he himself said it of Lao Tzū (*see p. 59*),—that he left behind him a *κτῆμα ἡ; ἀελ.* His translation of the Confucian Canon has helped many a weaker brother to a right understanding of a most difficult text,—a point the latter might otherwise never have reached; and it has also enabled other and still weaker brethren to pose as independent interpreters of works which lie in reality beyond their powers. It was reserved for Sir Thomas Wade to stigmatise, as I have observed before (*p. 24 ante*), as "wooden," the phraseology of what is one of our national glories, his own meagre output in Anglo-Chinese scholarship being almost entirely contained within the covers of the *Tzū Erh Chi*,—a primer useful enough in its day, but not altogether an immortal production, as is evidenced by the fact that a great deal of it has since been withdrawn from circulation, including of course the famous—some might say infamous—"Graduate's Wooing."

Dr. Legge made mistakes here and there; and one of the most curious of these seems to have escaped the notice of the dozens of students who must have pored over his *Mencius*, although it practically vitiates the reasoning of a whole page.

In the *Prolegomena* to vol. ii of his "Chinese Classics," p. 96,

Dr. Legge discusses the opinions of 楊朱 Yang Chu, who he rightly says—

belonged to the period of the Warring States, the same era of Chinese history as Mencius.

He goes on to say that Yang Chu was "styled 子居 Tsze-keu." This is the first knot in the tangle: the "style" of Yang Chu has not been handed down. Dr. Legge then refers to a note on p. 159, where he had written—

Yang Choo, called also Yang Shoo 戎 and Yang Tsze-keu 子居, was an heresiarch of the times of Confucius and Laou-tsze.

He explains this by saying that he based it on—

a passage of the Taoist philosopher Chwang, in which he gives an account of an interview between Laou-tsze and Yang Choo. That interview, however, must be an invention of Chwang.

The truth here is that no such interview is to be found in the works of "Chwang," that is, of 莊子 Chuang Tzü. In a footnote to the above, Dr. Legge makes confusion worse confounded by quoting the chapter on Yang Chu which appears in the book attributed to 列子 Lieh Tzü, who "lived about the same time as Laou-tsze," and was "a contemporary of Duke Mu," whose reign "extended from B.C. 625 to 604." As Dr. Legge goes on to observe, "There is evidently a gross anachronism somewhere;" adding, "This is not the place to attempt an adjustment of the difficulties."

As to difficulties, there are really none to adjust. The tangle unravels itself, if the texts involved are examined with ordinary care.

In chapters 8, 10, 12, and 25, of the writings of Chuang Tzü, will be found allusions to the philosopher 楊朱 Yang Chu, the founder of the 爲我 egoistic school, as opposed to the 兼愛 altruism of 墨翟 Mo Ti, about whose date too Dr. Legge was rather foggy, as on p. 103 we read, "He was certainly later than

Confucius," while on p. 123 Dr. Legge thinks that "Confucius might have dealt more fairly and generously with him."

In chapters 7, 20, and 27, of the same author, will be found allusions to a philosopher named 陽 (not 楊) 子居 Yang Tzü-chü, who is said to have had two interviews with Lao Tzü. This Yang Tzü-chü (Legge's "Tsze-keu") is said in the edition by 郭象 Kuo Hsiang (*d. A.D. 312*), § ix, p. 13 *recto*, to have been one 陽戎 Yang Jung (not 戎 *shu*), whose style was Tzü-chü; though elsewhere, § iii, p. 22 *verso*, the positions of the *Jung* and the *Chü* are transposed. Two quite distinct personages have, in fact, been rolled into one; and not by Dr. Legge only, but also by Professor Forke in his article on Yang Chu (*Journal of Peking Oriental Society*, III, p. 227), and by 張湛 Chang Chan, the editor, and probably the author, of the little volume which passes under the name of Lieh Tzü,—an individual otherwise known as 列禦寇 Lieh Yü-k'ou and created by Chuang Tzü for the purposes of his philosophy, just as Mr. Greatheart was created by Bunyan for the purposes of the Pilgrim's Progress.

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#### ART THOU THE CHRIST? (*see p. 27*)

Mr. T. W. Kingsmill writes in the *Shanghai Mercury* as follows:—

That the idea is not Chinese is evident at a glance; the pose and the arrangement of the figures are plainly Italian, it might be under the influence of Byzantine art about the fifth or sixth century, but more likely early Renaissance. The medal probably represented the Transfiguration, and the inscription almost certainly referred to the doctrine of the Trinity, and there is no difficulty in supposing the inscription to have been put on in China.

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## THE DANCE IN ANCIENT CHINA

At the half-yearly sacrifices to Confucius, illuminating notes on which have been published by Bishop Moule (*Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 33, fasc. 2, p. 37), may still be seen the last vestiges of what was once a national institution. Very ill done, says Bishop Moule, was the "posturing" which formed an accompaniment to the Confucian hymn, the youths who went through the movements, so many to each word, being almost untrained, and fitted only to show off the gorgeous robes in which they were dressed. These "postures," however, are not without interest as a survival of the art of dancing, which appears to have been widely practised in ancient China, and to have been carried later on, with the rest of the Chinese arts and crafts, to Japan. The dances are now performed by eight pairs of dancers, dressed as in the poorly-drawn illustration, and holding a triple 翟 pheasant's feather in one hand and a three-holed (some say six-holed) 簪 flute in the other.

All these accessories, it appears, are the additions of later ages. In an appeal 舞學不可廢 for the preservation of the study of dancing, by 朱載堉 Chu Tsai-yü of the Ming dynasty, we are expressly told that the dancers of old 不執干羽 did not hold either shields or feathers, but 空手而舞 danced with empty hands, and without hats. At thirteen, boys began to learn, and by twenty, when they were capped as adults, their education in this line was complete.

The shield and the feather were symbols of the old military and civil dances, respectively. Under the Ming dynasty the shields were 3.5 feet in

length, by 1 foot in breadth at the upper, and 6 inches at the lower, end; the feathers were 3.5 feet in length.



So far back, however, as the Chou dynasty, B.C. 1100–250, the

dance was already divided into military and civil, and these were performed by sixty-four dancers in each case, with shield and banner, feather and flute, respectively. They were accompanied by song, and were known as 舞 *wu*, strangely translated by Legge as "pantomimes" (*Analects*, Bk. 3, ch. 1). "Operatic ballets" would perhaps be nearer the mark. Whatever they were, the suzerain was limited to eight, the feudal nobles to six, Ministers of State to four, and ordinary officials to two.

There were six dances officially recognised under the Chou dynasty, namely, (1) 帼 the split-feather dance, used for purposes of exorcism or lustration, this character being, according to 顏師古 Yen Shih-ku, A.D. 579-645, equivalent to 舞; (2) 羽 the whole-feather dance, used in 祭祀 worship; (3) 皇 the regulating dance, used against 旱暵之事 droughts; (4) 旄 the tail dance, an ox's tail, symbol of agriculture, being grasped by the dancers; (5) 干 the shield dance, symbolical of a defensive, as opposed to an aggressive military attitude; (6) 戚 the battle-axe dance, symbolical of preparedness to strike, if necessary. To these is added a seventh, 人舞 humanity dance, in which battle-axes, whole-feathers, and ox-tails, are mere ornamental accessories, the purport of the dance being conveyed by means of gesture with hand and foot.

It is in the Odes, of course, that we look for, and find, the earliest authentic record of the dance in ancient China. There we read of "dancing under the trees," of "the exquisite dancing" of a Duke, of "dancing with a flute in the left hand and a pheasant's feather in the right," etc. etc. A bridegroom says to his bride:

Although I have no fine wine,  
I trust we shall have something to drink;  
Although I have no rich food,  
I trust we shall have something to eat;  
Although I have no accomplishments to offer you,  
We will sing and we will dance.

This last extract, taken with what is to follow, almost conjures up such a picture of the ancient Chinese youth as that which Gladstone (*Studies on Homer*) drew around the young contemporary Greek:—

He joins the dance in the festivals of religion, the maiden's hand upon his wrist, and the gilded knife glancing from his belt, as they course from point to point, or wheel in round on round.

Wine, indeed, was not lacking at the Chinese feast of old. We read in one Ode how, until the cup had circulated somewhat freely, the demeanour of the guests was all that could be desired; but that gradually—

When they begin to feel tipsy,  
Their decorous behaviour changes to frolic;  
They leave their seats and wander about,  
Kicking their legs high in the dance.

By and by—

When they are still more drunk,  
They altogether forget themselves,  
And with their caps awry,  
Dance on without ceasing.

Another Ode tells of dancing in connection with sacrifices to a dead hero, that is, of dancing as a religious ceremony, under which form it seems to have been originally practised. In the 祭祀志 chapter on sacrifice and worship in the 後漢書 History of the Later Han Dynasty, we find recorded the names of the songs which were sung, and of dances which were danced, at the various annual festivals; and we are further informed in the commentary that 不知所出 the origin of these dances is not known, but that 舊以祀天 formerly they were used in the worship of God. The 路史 *Lu shih*, by 羅泌 Lo Pi of the Sung dynasty, says—

帝堯陶唐氏制咸  
池之舞以享上帝

The Emperor Yao (B.C. 2357) ordained the Han-ch'ih dance, for the enjoyment of God.

Another writer, 陳陽 Ch'én Yang, who died about A.D. 1150, says that the dance originated as follows:—

樂之在耳爲聲而  
可以聽知在目爲  
容而不可以貌覩  
故先王之制舞也 etc.

Music appeals to the ear as sound, and can be appreciated by the sense of hearing; it appeals to the eye as beauty, but cannot be appreciated by the sense of sight. Therefore the ancient kings instituted the dance, using shields and battle-axes, feathers and banners, to illustrate the beauty, and using movements, upwards and downwards, to illustrate the meaning, of the music.

But, as has been already stated, the ancient official dance of China was performed altogether without accessories. A short poem of perhaps sixteen words having been chosen, two performers, dressed as in the pictures reproduced, and accompanied by music, would proceed to illustrate these words, expressing each one by a figure (as of a quadrille) of eight separate 春 movements. Thus, the number of figures to a dance would depend upon the number of words in the poem. The following is a specimen poem, based upon a well-known Ode and involving in its representation no fewer than one hundred and sixty movements:—

立我烝民  
日出而作  
日入而息  
鑿井而飲  
耕田而食

Thou didst establish the multitudes of our people, to go forth to work at sunrise, to go in to rest at sunset, to bore wells for drink, and to till fields for food.

For each of the eight movements which constituted a figure, there

was a special step, and the hands occupied a particular position. Three such movements are shown in the illustrations. The first



proves that the dance was essentially a step dance, and not mere posturing, as some have thought; the second is of a characteristic pose; and the third gives an idea of advancing and retiring, as in our own square dances.

In this sense, the Chinese dance may be closely compared with the Greek *όρχησις*, which was not only rhythmical but essentially pantomimic in character. It was, as we are told by a recent writer (M. A. Hincks), "the imitation of words by gestures, the bodily expression of a feeling." The same writer adds, "the word *ὑπόρχημα*

means a dance to the sound of singing,—a dance expressing by gesticulation the words of the accompanying poem."

From the *續文獻通考* and other sources, we learn that under the Earlier and Later Han dynasties, B.C. 200 — A.D. 400, the number of dancers employed at what we may call public or show dances ran into hundreds, and that the troupes were often mixed, men and girls taking part together. Such dances were of the character of ballets, and were intended to represent or illustrate some special motive. The band which provided the music consisted usually



of fourteen performers on drums, flutes, etc., but that number could be doubled if necessary.

What we may call the private dance seems to have been a different thing altogether. At a banquet, 飲酒酣 when inflamed with



wine, we are told by the author of the 通典 *T'ung tien*, in his chapter on dancing, that 必起自舞 it was obligatory to get up and dance. So, too, 張燕公 Chang Yen-kung connects dancing closely with inebriation:—

醉全動出	後勝容語	觀未皆總	更醉是成	好時舞詩
------	------	------	------	------

All joys are poor to sober glance;  
True joys to wine belong,—  
When every step we take is dance,  
And every word is song.

What is quite certain is that, in ancient China, dancing was not confined to paid performers. There is, on the one hand, the old story of the eighty dancing-girls sent from the Ch'i State to the Lu State, in order to divert the mind of the Prince of Lu from political aggression; but in an account of the same epoch we are told that when Confucius and his followers were for seven days in great straits for want of food, and while the Master was philosophically playing on and singing to his guitar, Tzü-lu, his brave disciple, 亯然執干而舞 suddenly seized his shield and began to dance. The mother of the First Emperor, 3rd cent. B.C., was 善舞 skilled at the dance; and a concubine of the first Emperor of the Earlier Han dynasty 善爲翹袖折腰之舞 was skilled at the wave-sleeve-and-bend-waist dance. The poet 李益 Li I has left us a stanza, entitled 觀石將軍舞 "Watching General Shih dance," which this soldier was not ashamed to do, 錦纏頭 with a gold-brocaded turban on his head. The Emperor 成帝 Ch'eng Ti, who 憎燈燭之照 hated the glare of lamps and candles, was very fond, 宴幸既罷 when the revelry was over, 靜鼓自舞 of having a quiet dance all to himself; and so lightly did his Majesty trip it, that 步不揚塵 his steps did not raise the dust.

In the History of the 魏 Wei dynasty we read—

At the winter solstice of the year A.D. 479, the Emperor and the Empress-Dowager gave a grand banquet to the Court officials at which 高祖 親舞於太后前 the Emperor himself danced before the Empress-Dowager, and all the officials danced too. The Emperor then sang a song, after which he proceeded at the head of his Court to make obeisance twice before her Majesty, wishing her many myriad years of life; with which the Empress-Dowager was much gratified.

The notorious 太平公主 T'ai-p'ing Princess often danced, either alone or with a partner, for the amusement of the Emperor. So did the famous rebel An Lu-shan, in spite of his enormous weight, said to have been 三百五十斤 350 catties, or no less than thirty-three stone,—Daniel Lambert weighed over fifty-two stone,—if the catty of a thousand years ago was the same as the catty of today. He must even have rivalled a modern waltzer, for we read that 於上前旋舞如風 he spun round in the dance before the Emperor like the wind.

Rapid gyration seems to have been quite a feature of certain kinds of Chinese dancing, as elsewhere we read of one 王齊叟 Wang Ch'i-sou, who could sing and dance, 右左周旋如神覩者失色 spinning round left or right like a spirit, to the terror of the beholders.

There is a well-known story of a high official, 視欽明 Chu Ch'in-ming, died A.D. 711, who performed before the Emperor a dance in which he finished up by 捏地搖頭 standing on his hands and wagging his head about in a funny way. His Majesty roared with laughter, but a grave statesman who was looking on, sighed and said, "This is sweeping the ground with the Five Classics,"—an ignoble use for a head which contained so much acquired wisdom. On one occasion, when the Emperor 景帝 Ching Ti, B.C. 156—140, was celebrating his birthday, and all the barons were singing and dancing in his presence, the Prince of 長沙 Ch'ang-sha in his turn stepped forward, but merely made a slight salutation. All the courtiers laughed at his awkwardness, and the Emperor asked him sternly what he meant. "May it please your Majesty," said the Prince, 臣國小地狹不足回旋 "my fief is a very small one; there is no room in it to turn round."

In A.D. 577, the third Emperor of the Northern Chou dynasty, who had just annexed the Northern Ch'i State, and was having a

drinking-bout with its leading officials, tried to make the wretched monarch, 延宗 Yen Tsung, whom he had dispossessed, dance before the assembled guests. Yen Tsung 悲不自持 lost control of himself in his distress, and called for poison to put an end to his woes, until the women-folk prevailed upon his Majesty to desist. In the supplement to Ma Tuan-lin's encyclopaedia, it is stated that at the 端午 Dragon-boat festival of the year A.D. 939, when the Court officials and various foreign envoys had conveyed their congratulations, there followed the usual banquet, after which the Emperor commanded the envoys from 回鶻 the Ouigour country and from 敦煌 Tun-huang 作本國舞 to dance their national dances.

Coming down to still later times, we read in 天祚帝本紀 of the History of the Liao Dynasty that after a feast given by the last Emperor of that House to a number of chieftains,

his Majesty retired with the half-t tipsy crowd to a pavilion, and gave orders that each of the vassal nobles should dance before him. When it came to the turn of Akutēng, that chieftain excused himself on the ground that he could not dance; and even though the Emperor pressed him again and again, he would not comply. Later on, the Emperor said privately to Hsiao Fēng-hsien, a Privy Councillor, At the banquet the other day, Akutēng was a little too haughty, and strange in his manner. Work up some complaint about frontier business, and take off his head; otherwise he will be giving trouble. To this Hsiao replied, He is a coarse fellow, and does not know how to behave. His death would weaken the allegiance of the chieftains, and if things took an unfavourable turn, what should we be able to do then?

A few years later, and Akutēng, who would not stoop to dance, had become first Emperor of the rival dynasty of the Golden Tartars, and the Liao dynasty came to an end.

Dancing seems to have been employed upon a variety of occasions, and to have included a variety of styles. It appears not only as an act of worship for the enjoyment of God, but also as a kind of exorcism, causing 水道 watercourses to run freely which had

previously been 堵塞不行 blocked. It was customary to dance to a person as a compliment, upon which it was expected that the receiver of the compliment would get up and respond in like manner. Thus we read of such a compliment paid to the famous poet T'ao Ch'ien, A.D. 365-427, to which the latter 謙不爲起固強之 modestly declined to respond until much pressed, and even then, 及舞又不轉 when he did dance, he did not turn round. So, too, Ts'ao Ts'ao, the great general of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., to celebrate his victory over 袁譚 Yüan Tan, 於馬上舞三巴 danced the *San pa* on horseback. Perhaps it was the horse that danced, dancing horses being quite common in ancient China. In the year A.D. 505, a 赤龍駒 red dragon colt was presented to the Emperor, which 能伏拜 could kneel down and make obeisance, and was also 善舞 good at dancing.

In A.D. 520, the son of a conspirator, who wished to make away with the Empress-Dowager, when called upon to dance before the Court, 爲殺縛之勢 did so with such threatening gestures that 太后解其意 the Empress-Dowager guessed what was intended, and took care that the father was forthwith put to death.

Of Chinese poetry on the subject of dancing, there is a sufficient quantity to form an anthology all to itself, and most of it is in a decidedly rapturous vein.

When the wine has been set for the feast,  
The host arises and pledges his guests;  
Jade beakers are ranged between the pillars,  
In a long line connecting east rooms with west.  
Then gracefully wave the sleeves of the dancers,  
Moving in myriad changing forms.  
Host and guest vie with one another in good fellowship,  
Enjoying themselves with never-flagging zest.  
May they continue to do so for a thousand years,  
Meeting thus in friendship in those halls. 傅元 *Fu Yüan*.

A longer poem has come down to us from 張衡 Chang Hêng

of the Later Han dynasty, in which he describes how, at a banquet when everybody was tipsy, 美人興而將舞 a beautiful girl arose and began to dance, finally breaking into a song in which she bewailed separation from her lover. She is the 孤雌翔 hen bird which circles alone; she 思故鄉 thinks of her old home, as she 揚纖腰 clasps her willow waist.

The Emperor 簡文 Chien Wén of the Liang dynasty, a well-known poet, has left several poems on dancing. In one he writes of a lovely *danseuse*, 廣袖拂紅塵 whose wide sleeves sweep the surface of the red dust, whose waist bends to the movement of the sleeves, and whose twinkling feet and moth-eyebrows combine to produce 見此空愁人 a scene which banishes care from the heart of man.

And so the story runs, all through past dynasties, down at any rate to the sixteenth century; for we have a poet of the Mings, named 徐禎卿 Hsü Chén-ch'ing, who wrote a poem on 觀舞 "Watching Dancing," which opens as follows:—

What festival is this, with lamps filling the hall,  
And golden hair-pins dancing by night alongside of flowery lutes?  
A fragrant breeze flutters the sleeve and a red haze arises,  
While jade wrists slit round and round in mazy flight.

With the incoming of the Manchu Tartars a more serious spirit prevailed; and with the patronage of literature added to the cares of State, the great Emperors K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung had little time to spare for the dance.

## THE HOME OF JIU JITSU

So much has been lately said and written about 柔術 *jiu jitsu*, the Japanese form of self-defence, that it may be of interest to see what China, with her vastly longer national life, has achieved in the same direction.

The first available reference carries us back to B.C. 631, China's age of chivalry, when the rival feudal nobles were constantly engaged in cutting each other's throats. In that year, while the armies of the 晉 Chin and the 楚 Ch'u States lay opposed, waiting for the signal to fight, the Marquis of Chin dreamt that he was boxing with the Viscount of Ch'u, and that on being knocked down by the Viscount, the latter knelt beside him and sucked out his brains. This he naturally regarded as a bad omen; however, his chief henchman interpreted the dream as favourable, pointing out that the Marquis was on his back, looking up to heaven, while the Viscount was kneeling, as it were in admission of wrong-doing. So when the general of the Ch'u forces sent—quite à la Chevy Chase—to say that his army would like to "have a game of play" with the Chin army, at which he himself and the Marquis could look on, the Marquis sent back to advise the enemy to hold themselves well prepared. During the fight which ensued, the centre of the Chin army feinted a flight, dragging boughs of trees to make a dust and increase the appearance of disorder. The Ch'u army followed, and was promptly surrounded and cut to pieces.

Before proceeding further with the art of self-defence, properly so called, allusion may be made to a strange pastime, known as

角抵 (or 抵) "butting," which is said to have been invented some few years before the *soi-disant* First Emperor consolidated the feudal States under his own rule in B.C. 221. It is mentioned in the Historical Record under the reign of the Second Emperor, but became less popular during the succeeding Han dynasty, although in B.C. 108 a grand display of butting was organised under Imperial patronage, and we read that people came from a hundred miles round about in order to see the fun. Such fun as the sport yielded, was enjoyed mostly by the spectators; for we are told in the History of the T'ang Dynasty, when butting was revived, that 有碎首斷臂流血廷中 "there were smashed heads, broken arms, and blood running in the palace yard."

Again, in the History of the Five Dynasties, we find that the Emperor Chuang Tsung, who died A.D. 926, was very fond of butting; and as he usually beat 王都 Wang Tu, one of his courtiers with whom he played, he began to fancy himself, and challenged one 李存賢 Li Tsun-hsien, the great professional player of the day, offering him a high post as a prize for victory. His Majesty was defeated, and later on generously kept his promise. The sport of butting apparently consisted in putting an ox-skin, horns and all, over the head, and then trying to knock one's adversary out of time by butting at him after the fashion of bulls, as in the illustration annexed. One writer speaks of butting as 前衝後敵無非有力之人 "attacking in front, guarding behind, all players being men of great strength; 左攫右擎盡是用拳之輩 clutching left and seizing right, all players being of the boxer class."

Boxing, often expressed as 拳搏 "fisting and gripping," has been placed by the Chinese on an altogether different level. It has been regarded more as a business than as a sport, in the sense that it was once a part of military training, had its "professors," and was

even reduced to a science in the **拳經** *Ch'üan ching* or Canon of Boxing. Strange to say, the most famous exponents of the art



were Buddhist priests who inhabited the well-known **少林** Shao-lin monastery. This, as we are told in the History of the Wei Dynasty, was founded in the following manner:—

A shaman from 西域 Central Asia, by name 跋陁 Po-t'o, who was profoundly devout, became such an object of veneration and faith to the Emperor Kao Tsu (died A.D. 500), that his Majesty gave orders for the Shao-lin monastery to be built on the north side of the 少室 Shao-shih mountain for him to dwell in, food and raiment being supplied at the public expense.

The priests of Shao-lin, probably as a measure of self-defence in troublous times, seem to have devoted themselves seriously to what for convenience sake may be called "boxing," though the term is often made to include such varieties as *la savate*, wrestling, quarter-staff, and even spear-play, and may very possibly be nothing more nor less than the archetype of the modern Japanese science of *jiu jitsu*. In reference to a famous boxer mentioned in the 寧波府志 Topography of Ningpo, we are told that

the art of self-defence is twofold: 外家 exoteric and 內家 esoteric. The exoteric style was that which was so greatly in vogue at Shao-lin, and consists chiefly in striking the adversary, and then by an acrobatic bound placing oneself out of reach. This style, however, often lays the striker open to serious risks. The esoteric style was that handed down by 張松溪 Chang Sung-ch'i, and consists in opposing the adversary, but not letting fly unless actually compelled by stress of circumstances, and without giving any loophole of attack. This is the better style of the two.

The Chang above-mentioned stated that his style had originated with a boxer of the same name, probably an ancestor, who flourished in the twelfth century. The later artist is described as being

of an exceedingly retiring disposition, like that of a student of books. He was so deferential to all persons he came in contact with, that 身若不勝衣 his body seemed scarcely able to carry the weight of his clothes; and when any one pressed him as to the secrets of his art, he would humbly beg to be excused, and incontinently take his leave. At that date the Shao-lin priests had spread their reputation for boxing all over the empire, and it happened too that the 倭 Dwarfs (Japanese) were then giving trouble, and that an Imperial order had been sent down for the priests to attack them. Now some seventy of the priests, hearing of the fame of Chang, proceeded to Ningpo, and tried to get acquainted with him

whereupon Chang kept carefully concealed until some young friends of his persuaded him to go and take a look at the visitors. The priests were found practising in the upper storey of a wine-shop; and an inadvertent laugh from Chang soon betrayed who was present among them. So they begged Chang to have a bout; but before he would agree, he insisted that the beadle should be summoned, and an agreement entered into that he should not be held responsible in case of death. This being settled, Chang folded his arms, and sat down on the ground. A priest then 跳躍來蹴 came skipping around him, with a view to getting in a kick; Chang however slightly inclined his body and 舉手送之 let fly. The priest shot through the window like a ball, and fell so heavily outside that he was nearly killed.

Another famous boxer of the Ningpo prefecture was named 邊澄 Pien Ch'êng,

When fifteen years of age, he heard that at a certain shrine 祈夢 有驗 prayers of worshippers for dreams were duly answered, and accordingly he proceeded thither, and begged that he might be taught some art in which he could make a name for himself. Then he dreamt that spirit-soldiers taught him to box, and his physical strength began to increase. Travelling into Shantung, he amused himself with such feats as bringing to a dead stop a cart running down hill; finally, hearing that the priests at the Shao-lin monastery had gained a world-wide reputation for boxing, he pretended to be a cook, and took service with them for three years, at the end of which time he had thoroughly acquainted himself with their art. On resigning his post, he went to take leave of the abbot, who as a reward for his past toil offered to give him a little teaching; to which Pien replied that he had himself picked up some knowledge of boxing, and when tested, he proved himself a better man than any of the priests' pupils.

Pien now led a roving life, of course full of adventure, and always without meeting his match.

In 1513, the Dwarf-Bandits arrived with tribute, and some among them who were good at spear-play, and had heard of Pien's fame, begged to be allowed a bout with him. The Governor having consented, ten or more of the Dwarfs took spears, and tried who could throw the farthest. Pien then seized a spear, with a flag attached, and threw it beyond any of them. His opponents now surrounded him with their spears; whereupon Pien, with a yell, leaped right over them, dragging with him one or two of the Dwarfs, not to kill them, but simply as an exhibition of his prowess.

In the 紀效新書, a military work of the 16th century, written at a time when Japanese descents upon the coast were a constant source of anxiety, and on the very scene of such exploits, namely, the seaboard of Chehkiang, we have what may be called a scientific treatise on boxing, in view of its practical application to military needs. It runs as follows:—

Boxing seems to be an accomplishment of no real value in serious warfare. At the same time, inasmuch as a study of this art in its elementary stages involves flexibility of the arms and legs, together with activity of the body, I have included it for the sake of completeness. In boxing, the body must be quick to move, the hands quick to take advantage, and the legs lightly planted but firm, so as to advance or retire with effect. In the 腿可飛騰 flying leap of the leg lies the skill of the art; in turning the adversary upside down lies its ferocity; in planting a straight blow with the fist lies its rapidity; and in 活捉朝天而其柔也 deftly holding the adversary face upwards lies its gentleness.



The use here of the word *jou* "gentleness" is peculiarly noticeable, the Japanese term *jiu jitsu* being the equivalent of the Chinese

*jou shu* "gentle art." Altogether, we may fairly come to a conclusion, reinforced as it is by the two accompanying illustrations from the



Art of Boxing, that the Japanese learnt the art in China from the Chinese, carried it away home with them, added to it from their own resources of ingenuity, and now come forward to teach the improved art, not only to the East, but to the West.

*Chinese Art*, by S. W. Bushell, C. M. G., B. Sc., M. D.,  
2 vols. London, 1904—1906.

This article is by Mr. Lionel Giles, M. A. (Oxon), Assistant in the Printed Books' Department, British Museum.

The price alone of these two volumes is almost enough to disarm the unfriendly critic, who in return for the absurdly small sum of 3/- is presented with some 300 pages of text and over 200 excellent plates. Within this compass we have thirteen chapters, dealing with all the important branches of Chinese art, namely, sculpture, architecture, bronzes, carving in wood, ivory, and horn, lacquer work, jade, pottery and porcelain, glass, enamels, jewellery, textiles, and painting. To give a good and concise account of these various subjects is no small feat, and Dr. Bushell is perhaps the only man alive to-day who can be considered equal to the task. Those who receive much, however, are apt to sigh for more, and many students will wish that the proper names and technical terms could have been reproduced in the native character and not merely "romanised"—always an unsatisfactory method for a language so poor in sounds as Chinese. Into the technicalities of the handicrafts here described we cannot enter: this is a field in which Dr. Bushell reigns supreme. Our object is to deal with the literary side of the work, where we shall have to point out a certain number of errors that tend to disfigure an otherwise admirable compilation. And before taking these in their order, we feel bound to put in one more protest against carelessness and laxity in the matter of aspirates. Chinese scholarship has long passed the stage at which these could be either ignored or used as individual fancy might dictate. Such carelessness is much too noticeable in this book.

Vol. I. P. 37. The "monkey" feeding the phœnixes in fig. 12 has become a "winged sprite" on p. 41. So, the "triple jewelled fruit" of p. 41 is a "three-beaded sceptre" on the next page.

P. 38. "Shang-ti" should be 玉皇上帝 Yü Huang Shang Ti.

P. 40. B.C. 194 is given as the 28th year of the reign of 秦始皇 Ch'in Shih-huang, whereas of course it is the first year of the reign of 惠帝 Hui Ti. Shih Huang-ti reigned only eleven years (B.C. 221-209). A line or two below, B.C. 233 should be B.C. 333, in the reign of 顯王 Hsien Wang.

P. 42. Tung Fang So should be Tung-fang So (a double surname).

P. 46. Mo Kao Wo should be Mo Kao K'u, the characters in fig. 25 being 莫高窟.

P. 47. "Kiuchou" is really 屈朮 Ch'ü Shu or 窪朮 K'u Shu.

P. 56. For "Emporer" read "emperor."

P. 66. It is quite incorrect to call Lamaism the State Church of the reigning Manchu dynasty.

P. 71. Gold and not copper is 金 *chin*, the metal *par excellence*.

P. 72. It is philologically impossible to analyse the character 銅 *t'ung* into its component parts so as to wrench it into signifying "mixed metal." The 同 is of course a mere phonetic.

P. 80. 鐘鳴鼎食 *Chung ming ting shih* does not mean "the bell sounds, the food is in the caldron, but "Bells are for sound, caldrons are for food."

*Ibid.* Incense was certainly used in China before the introduction of Buddhism, as may be seen on referring to the article 香 in the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng*.

P. 83, line 20. "Fig. 47" should be "fig. 48."

P. 85 (figs. 49, 50). According to M. Pelliot, the bowl is known to Chinese archaeologists *without* the inscription, which is doubtless of a later date.

P. 94. 鑑 *chien* is a much older term for "mirror" than 鏡 *ching*, which was first used under the Western Han.

P. 101. "Ts'ien Chiao" should be 錢鏐 Ch'ien Liu.

P. 107. Perhaps the worst blot in the whole book is this extraordinary mistranslation of the verse on a silver wine-cup (fig. 72):

A hundred cups inspired the poet Li Po,  
 A single bowl intoxicated the Taoist seer, Liu Ling:  
 Pray beware of a slip when full of wine,  
 A false step may mar the fair fame of a lifetime.

Hardly the sort of thing, on the face of it, that a Chinaman would inscribe on a wine-cup! The Chinese is written very plainly, and not in curious script, as Dr. Bushell states; and the real translation runs as follows:

百	杯	狂	李	白
一	醉	老	劉	伶
爲	得	酒	中	趣
方	留	世	上	名

Li Po could stand a hundred cups;  
 "Lao Tzü" Liu Ling was always drunk.  
 It is because they found joy in wine  
 That their names have been handed down.

Liu Ling was nicknamed after the Taoist sage because of an essay he wrote extolling the doctrine of Inaction, which caused him to miss his degree.

P. 117. It was not an *Emperor* who would not interrupt his game of chess to hear a general's urgent report; it was 謝安 Hsieh An, governor of Yang-chou in Kiangsu, who calmly went on playing *wei-ch'i* after having received a dispatch announcing the defeat of the invading enemy by his brother and nephew.

P. 118. *Ch'ang Huai* "Abode of happiness" seems to be a mistake for 懷暢 *huai ch'ang*, though here we feel the need of the Chinese characters, the inscription on the plaque in fig. 81 being illegible.

Vol. II. p. 22, line 4. For "1662" read "1644".

P. 39. There seems to be some confusion here between **米色** *mi sé*, straw-coloured, and **蜜色** *mi sé*, honey-coloured.

P. 49. **怡玉** *i yü* is wrongly rendered "ductile jade." **怡** does not mean ductile, and jade is one of the hardest and most brittle of minerals.

*Ibid.* **益右** *i yu* is not "Profit and prosperity." Dr. Bushell appears to have been in doubt, for on p. 88 of his *Oriental Ceramic Art* he translates the same characters "Profit and advance," which is equally incorrect. On the other hand, the latter work is right with "Eternal prosperity and enduring spring" for **永慶長春**, while here, on p. 51, "Ever-flourishing enduring spring" is wrong.

P. 50. **嵒竹造** *Hsieh chu tsao*, translated "Made for the Hsieh Bamboos," makes nonsense. *Hsieh Chu* must indicate the place of manufacture.

*Ibid.* **嵒竹主人造** *Hsieh chu chu jén tsao* is "Made by, not for, the master of Hsieh Chu."

*Ibid.* **福祿壽** is rendered "Happiness, rank and longevity." But **祿** means not rank but official emolument, as is shown by the antithesis **祿爵** "salary and high rank."

P. 53. **在川知樂** "I know that they (i. e. fishes) rejoice in the water." This is very far-fetched, the obvious and better alternative being to take **知樂** together — "to feel pleasure." In his *Oriental Ceramic Art*, p. 102, Dr. Bushell says that the words are taken from a famous passage in *Chuang Tzü*. But that is not quite correct. **在川** does not occur at all in the passage in question (at the end of the chapter **秋水**), nor is **知** there followed immediately by **樂**.

P. 64. **胡** *Hu* did not split his name by any "curious conceit," for the surname **胡** is always described as the **古月** *Ku yüeh* *Hu*, perhaps in order to avoid confusion with the objectionable **狐** *hu*, fox.

P. 68. The inscriptions represented in fig. 83 are given in the wrong order: (1) should be (2), (2) should be (3), (3) should be (1). Moreover, 天相吉人 seems to mean "May God's Minister be propitious to men." 天相 is certainly not "the celestial sign," whatever that may be.

P. 81. Dr. Bushell is singularly unhappy in his translations of verse. He has made several bad blunders in the following lines: —

'Tis the first month of summer time, the leaves are all full blown,  
Their serried banks of shaded green o'erspread the jadeite sward;  
They say that here, on happy days, the phoenix comes to roost,  
But better, aye, in hour of ease, to plant the hazel nut.  
A little lad waits boiling tea, outside the arbour wall,  
A scholar high, with lyre in case, crosses the rustic bridge.  
May the dryandra twin trees live for myriads of years! —  
The fire-stove on the screen will never want its pile of fuel.

The Chinese is:

清	櫛	和	櫛	時	緣	禎	冗	烹	囊	焦	爨	琴	桐	下	專	翠	以	之	庭	約	古	傳
櫛	謾	櫛	說	禎	禎	禎	烹	茗	囊	爨	爨	琴	桐	下	葉	覆	棲	樹	空	野	千	揔
寧	小	高	比	士	士	士	士	茗	囊	爨	爨	琴	桐	下	葉	覆	棲	樹	空	野	千	揔
屏	屏	屏	屏	間	間	間	間	琴	琴	琴	琴	桐	下	下	葉	覆	棲	樹	空	野	千	揔

In the fourth moon the leaves are all of one hue,  
And hang like green clouds over the kingfisher-like lawn.  
Do not confine good augury to the tree on which the phoenix roosts,  
But rather allow the hazel to take its place among the rest.  
Meanwhile, a little boy, the tea made, is waiting in the empty kiosque,  
And a gentleman, lute in case, is crossing the rustic bridge....  
May those two lute-trees live for a thousand years,  
So that they may always supply fuel for the stove on the screen  
(and consequently burnt pieces for making new lutes).

Dr. Bushell has entirely missed the point of lines 3 and 4, as

well as the allusion, in lines 7 and 8, to the story of a lute made from a charred log of the *wu-t'ung* tree, which an enthusiast rescued from the flames for that purpose.

P. 101. It is not 萬壽 *wan shou* but 萬歲 *wan sui* which is the equivalent of the Japanese *banzai*.

P. 125. 天子古希 *Tien Tz'u Ku Hsi* is surely not "An Ancient Rarity of the Son of Heaven," but "The Emperor at the age of seventy." 古希 or 古稀 are two characters commonly used to denote the age of three score and ten, being taken from a line of the poet Tu Fu: "From of old until now men of seventy have been rare."

P. 138. *Pi shu shih nü*, "ladies in summer undress." The characters are not given, but are presumably 避暑士女, which would mean "Gentlemen and ladies taking shelter from the heat."





## PSYCHIC PHENOMENA IN CHINA

China has been described, by some flippant observer, as a country where four hundred million people live in daily terror of four hundred billion ghosts. Few subjects indeed have so completely commanded the attention of Chinese philosophers during the past twenty-five centuries, as that momentous question of world-wide interest, particularly associated with ghosts, and summed up by Carlyle as.... "The Whence, and—oh heavens!—the Whither?" The literature especially devoted to an elucidation of this topic is so voluminous that, to use a cant phrase, it could hardly be mastered in a lifetime; it certainly could not be adequately presented within the short limit of time which I now propose to occupy. But we may perhaps succeed in getting at the gist of Chinese beliefs in this direction, enough perhaps to appreciate the conclusions at which some of their greatest thinkers have arrived, in regard to the illimitable tracts of unknown which lie before this life and after it, and to the part, if any, which is played therein by what we call the human soul.

It is hardly surprising to find that the Chinese have not managed to evolve any very satisfactory theory as to the presence of life upon this earth. The earth itself, according to the classical explanation, which bears a curious resemblance in some of its details to the nebular theory, came into existence as follows. First of all there was Nothing; then, in time, by a process of limitation and concentration (not explained), Something, represented by a circular dot,

appeared. This dot revolved in space—no one says how long—until at length two centres were formed within it; and these again revolved around one another, always within the original circumference, each carrying with it half the area of the original dot. One half was male, the other female; one half was light, the other dark,—as seen in the familiar symbol of the Yin and the Yang. By a process of biogenesis (also unexplained), these two Powers produced the visible universe, including heaven, earth, and man. In this separation of the primordial unit into two, we have precisely the modern theory—also very much unexplained—of the development of unicellular into multicellular organisms; while rotation is an essential feature in the nebular hypothesis of modern days.

We may now start fair from birth in this world; though here again we shall have to digress for a moment. Many Chinese writers have held that when a man is born into the world, it is not necessarily his first appearance. He may have been here before. He has been reborn.

Hundreds of cases, bearing out the Chinese view, have been recorded in Chinese literature. None, so far as I know, date back quite to the Christian era; and it is more than probable that this belief is a phase of the theory of transmigration of souls, which was taken to China from the West. It is at any rate a theory which has been freely adopted by the Chinese, and is not altogether unknown among ourselves. It easily explains certain phenomena, actually experienced by many of us,—the seeming familiarity of some place we have certainly never visited before; the persistency in the mind of some scene we have certainly never set eyes on at all; the strange reminiscences evoked by some flower, by some sound, or by the senses of taste and of smell. Herein the West we have no scientific explanation of these almost uncanny experiences; the most recent theory, and perhaps the most ingenious,

is, that just as we inherit from our ancestors an ear for music, an eye for colour, or a taste for literature, so do we often inherit shadowy mental pictures and impressions from lives that were ended long before our own had begun. But that will scarcely explain all that the Chinese have to say.

There is the well-known classical instance—I say *classical*, because it is actually recorded in the dynastic history, 3rd century of our era, of 羊祜 Yang Hu. At the age of five, he asked his nurse to fetch his bracelet for him to play with. "You haven't got a bracelet," said the nurse. "Oh yes, I have," he replied; "it is in a hole in Mrs Li's mulberry tree." And there sure enough a bracelet was found. Mrs Li was astounded, for she said that this bracelet had been lost by a son of hers who had died; from which it was inferred that Yang Hu had been her son in a previous birth.

Among other cases, there is one given in the 法苑珠林, where a dying youth told his mother that he felt he was going to reappear in a certain family; and his sceptical mother, in order to make sure, 以墨點兒右肘 tattooed a black spot on his right elbow. Later on, a son was duly born in the family indicated, and moreover had a black spot on his right elbow.

But our subject, just born, is awaiting us; and it matters little to the present investigation whether he may have been born before or not. We wish now to ascertain what views the Chinese hold as to the psychical composition of the little stranger.

It has been believed for many centuries, alike in ancient Greece and in modern England, that man is twofold; he consists of a physical body and a vivifying personality or soul. It was reserved to the late Mr. F. W. H. Myers to discover and to publish in his posthumous work, "Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death," that man is really threefold. In addition to the body which we commonly see, and to the soul or personality attached to it

with which we may become acquainted in the usual way, there is really, in the background, another personality, with which we have, normally speaking, no acquaintance whatever, but which yet may manifest itself in a sense which, for want of a better term, we may call spiritualistic. These two personalities have been named by Mr. Myers the supraliminal or visible personality, and the subliminal or invisible personality, respectively. As Mr. Myers says,

"The supraliminal self does not comprise the whole of the consciousness or faculty within us. There exists a more comprehensive consciousness, a profounder faculty, which reasserts itself in its plenitude after the liberating change of death."

Mr. Myers adds,

"I do not indeed by using this term assume that there are two correlative and parallel selves existing *always* within each of us."

Now this is precisely what the Chinese do assume, and have assumed for many centuries past.

In the well-known commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals, a work usually assigned to the 5th century B. C., there occurs this passage:—

"When a man is born, that which he first develops is called the 魂 *p'ō*. After this, he develops its complement, which is called the 魂 *hun*."

These two words, transposed for euphony's sake, *hun p'ō*, have been in use from time immemorial as a name for the composite soul, the *p'ō* being equivalent to the supraliminal self, the visible personality interpenetrating and indissolubly attached to the body, the *hun* being the subliminal or invisible self, also interpenetrating the body, but not, as we shall see, indissolubly attached to it. Which reminds me, by the way, that the interpenetration of the material by what I may perhaps be allowed to call the spiritual, is an integral part of the Chinese theory of evolution. The whole universe

and its contents are informed—even this desk is informed—by a mysterious vital force or fluid, which the Chinese call 氣 *ch'i*, and which makes things what they are.

To return to the *hun p'o* or soul; how does it behave in its new-found tenement of clay? Its two parts are usually in combination, but not always. The *hun* has the power of leaving the body; in which case the body, still informed by the *p'o*, generally, not always, remains in a state of torpidity, suggestive of a cataleptic fit or trance. Once outside the body, the *hun* may be either visible or invisible; it may stay away permanently,—that is death; or it may re-enter the body, and continue the thread of life. Of this latter phenomenon a number of authentic cases are on record. One of the most amusing, not however authenticated, runs as follows.

A good old priest died, and his *hun* flew away; but it had not got far before it came across the dead body of a lively young nobleman, who had just been thrown from his horse. Into this somewhat incongruous body the old priest's *hun* entered; and the young man's body regained consciousness. Some awkward moments ensued, when the injured man was carried into the ladies' apartments, and when his various wives crowded around to sympathise. For although the physical frame was that of their husband, the intellectual and emotional faculties were those of a priest, accustomed to a celibate life and to a dietary of vegetables and tea. I need not dwell on the complications which arose. Finally, this composite being returned to the monastery where its soul had once lived as a priest, and succeeded in persuading the other priests that it was really their old master. Later on, the joint household became rather a show; for at the age of thirty this young body with its old soul had been a priest for no less than eighty years.

The *hun* again possesses, as stated above, the further power of throwing off its invisibility, and appearing to the world with its

original body, which may then be many miles away, thus presenting the phenomenon known as bilocation, or in other words solving the famous difficulty of Sir Boyle Roche, namely, how to be in two places at once—like a bird. The *hun* may appear, as suggested above, either before or after death. Sometimes the apparition is visible to all present, just as in a case recorded by Mr. Myers, when no fewer than six people saw the face of a dead man on the panel of a wardrobe. Sometimes it is seen only by the person specially interested, as in the case of Banquo's ghost. A very curious point, and one which has given much trouble to the thinking world in China, is that the *hun* always appears clothed; generally in a duplicate suit of the clothes worn by the deserted body. It was thus too that the shade of Patroclus appeared to his friend and avenger, Achilles, dressed, as Homer tells us, in such clothes as he usually wore: *τοῖα περὶ χρᾶις μετί*.

When in ordinary life you talk to a friend, you are addressing his supraliminal self, that is, a body properly blended with its *p'o*; the *hun* being, so to speak, out of sight in the background. But when, for instance in London, you see, as people have seen, or say they have seen, the presentment of some one who you know is at that moment in Peking, then you are in the presence of his *hun* only, what Mr. Myers would call his subliminal self. The owner of the *hun* may be dead, or he may not.

There is a pretty story, assigned to the 2nd century B. C., which incidentally discloses the identity of the *hun* with Mr. Myers' subliminal self. A soldier youth and a beautiful girl fell in love, and 誓爲夫婦 plighted their troth. He went away to the wars, and was absent for nine years. At the end of the third year, the girl's parents forced her into marriage with another man, with the result that by the time three more years had elapsed she 悵悒而死 had died of a broken heart. When her lover returned, three

years later, he was overwhelmed with grief, and hurried at once to her grave. There, like another Laodamia, with much weeping and lamentation, he called her by name, praying that, if she really 有靈聖 enjoyed a spiritual existence, she would show him her face once more. As he prayed, the girl's *hun*—her subliminal self—passed forth from the still-closed tomb, and after a few words of recognition declared that she was not dead, and urged him to break open the tomb and her coffin at once. This he did, and soon managed to restore the girl to consciousness. They returned home as husband and wife, whereupon the late husband filed a plaint. The judge, however, 檢律斷之無條 not finding in the Penal Code any clause to meet the case, memorialised the Throne, and received a Rescript that the original lovers were to be left undisturbed.

Another curious case is that of a husband and wife. Here it is the *p'o* which moves about, indissolubly attached, as you will remember, to the body, while the *hun* remains quiescent. One morning the wife got up, and left the bedroom, and shortly afterwards the husband also left the room. The wife, who had not seen her husband go out, on returning to the bedroom, found him still there under the bedclothes. Just then a servant came in, and said that the master wanted a hand-glass; whereupon the wife, thinking that the servant was lying, simply pointed to the bed. The servant protested, and rushed away and summoned the husband, who came back, and together with his wife examined the man under the bedclothes, and saw that the latter 正是其形 was really the counterpart of himself. Concluding that this was the husband's *hun*, they dared not wake it, 乃共以手徐徐撫牀 but stroked the bed gently with their hands, 遂冉冉入席而滅 until it sank into the bed-mat, and disappeared. In other words, it once more became blended, but not visibly, with the body and with the *p'o*.

There is another interesting story of a *hun*, by 陳元祐 Ch'én Yüan-yu of the T'ang dynasty,— this time it was the *hun* of a girl, which *hun* eloped with a lover, leaving the physical body informed by the *p'o* only, lying ill in bed. The parents were entirely hoodwinked; and there the sick girl lay, a semi-conscious invalid, for several years, until the return of the runaway pair, who had been duly married, and were bringing home a couple of children. While the astonished parents were wondering what to make of it all, the girl in the bed got up, and went out to meet herself. The two fell into each other's arms; and there and then, in the presence of spectators, 翳然而合爲一體 they coalesced and became one,—one ordinary woman, 其衣裳皆重 dressed however in two complete suits of clothes.

Death from fright is explained by Chinese philosophers as 散體 the violent ejection of the *hun* or subliminal self from its association with the body and with the supraliminal self. An illustrative case is given of a tutor who waked from a sound sleep to find before him lighted candles, flowers, fruit, and paper-money,—the paraphernalia of a death-chamber, arranged as a joke by his pupils, who were watching to see the fun. "Good gracious," he cried, 我已死耳 "I must be dead!" After sobbing awhile, he went off to sleep again; but when the practical jokers came to look at him, he was really dead, the *hun*, according to the writer, being too effectually dispersed by the shock to be able 還體 to regain its tenement.

This dispersion, however, is not always so complete; just as one person will not die of a shock which is immediately fatal to another. The following is a case in point.

A golden vase being missing from the Palace, the chief attendant responsible was suspected of stealing it, and was condemned to death in the market-place as a common felon. Just as the

executioner's knife was about to fall, there came a reprieve; the vase had been found. The accused man subsequently deposed, that on going into the market-place he was in a state of abject terror, and that suddenly 覺身坐屋簷上 he found himself sitting on the eaves of a house, from which point he could see a man bound for immediate execution; further, that directly upon the arrival of the messenger, he found himself back in his body again. Here we have the *hun*, the subliminal and more ethereal portion of the soul, escaping from the body at the mere threat of death, and returning when all danger is over.

We must understand from the above accounts that there are cases of suspended animation, (such as trance, etc.) when the body still under the influence of the *p'o* is able to receive back and blend with the *hun*; and that there are other cases when the *p'o* ceases to be active, thus preventing the *hun* from forming that junction which constitutes life, and bringing about permanent separation,—in other words, death.

In one instance, which happened in A. D. 516, and is given in the History of the Sui Dynasty (五行志), the body of a beheaded criminal 不僵 remained in position while the head fell to the ground. The mouth was seen to move, and the eyes to open and shut. The *hun* may have fled; but the *p'o* was still sufficiently active to produce temporary movements.

In another case, mentioned in the 伽藍記, which occurred in A. D. 518, a Censor was beheaded for too strong language to the Throne. After execution, the eyes did not close, and 尸行百步 the body walked a hundred paces before it fell,—“a hundred” being of course figuratively used for “many.”

Very noticeable among Chinese characteristics is love of life. I will not stop to refute, in the presence of such an audience, the preposterous belief which still prevails, that a condemned man in

China, if possessed of means, can always, and for a moderate fee, find a substitute ready to take his place. My own experience was—and it is borne out by Chinese literature—that love of life is just as widespread in China as it is in this country. At any rate, scores of volumes have been written by the Chinese, showing how life may best be prolonged, illustrating, if anything, a very deep-seated desire to prolong it. Some think that certain forms of mild physical exercise provide the best safeguard against old age; and I remember that Liu Ming-ch'üan, the famous general and Governor of Formosa, once told me with pride that he made a point of taking 300 steps regularly every day.

Some sit motionless for hours, and carefully practise deep breathing. The philosopher Chuang Tzü, who flourished three centuries before Christ, tells us that the wondrous vitality of the ancients—there have always been “ancients” in China—was chiefly due to the fact that they drew their breath from their heels. Others, however, hold that if a man's moral and intellectual natures are well balanced, he will combat successfully the “slow and silent, but resistless sap,” by which, as the poet tells us, “Death urges his deadly siege.” For such a purpose, the pure, unworldly life of a hermit has always seemed to the Chinese to offer exceptional advantages; or again a life led strictly in accordance with the ordinances of the Book of Rites. These last two systems may be illustrated by a story which goes back to the 2nd century B.C.

**單豹** Tan Pao retired from the world. He dwelt on a mountain, and drank at a brook. He wore no clothes from the loom, neither did he eat any of the five kinds of (artificially-grown) grain; and so, at seventy years of age, he still retained the complexion of boyhood. Then he fell in with a hungry tiger, who killed and ate him.

**張毅** Chang I was all for rites and ceremonial. Whenever

he passed a palace or a temple in which any function was going on, he would hasten in; and if he saw a crowd gathering at a house, he would make a point of joining the party. He treated all his domestic servants and stable-boys 皆與之仇禮 on terms of absolute equality; yet he died young, of a fever. On these two cases the Chinese author comments, as follows. Pao Tau cultivated his interior, and a tiger ate his exterior; Chang I cultivated externals, and disease attacked his internals.

But supposing that all these methods fail, including prayers for the sick, as commonly offered up at Buddhist temples, it remains only to admit that after all life is what Taoist writers tell us it is,—a sunbeam passing through a crack, revealing indeed many minute organisms which had before been invisible, but gone ere we have time to appraise them. Or again, life is a sleep or a dream, and death is our awakening; an awakening, no more to the unsubstantiality of this world, but to reality in a higher state of existence. Only fools, according to Chuang Tzū, think that they are awake now.

Whenever this change does come, the Confucianist is supposed to face it with equanimity. Chu Hsi, the famous Confucianist of the 12th century, wrote—

生 時 平 安 由 得 我  
死 後 平 安 由 不 得 我  
由 不 得 我 氏 要 在  
由 得 我 處 做

My peace in this life depends upon myself;

My peace in the next world does not.

Why trouble about that which does not depend on me?

Rather let me pay attention to that which does.

Another scholar on his deathbed contented himself with this couplet:—

平 生 無 一 事 欺 天 地  
今 日 送 百 骸 歸 地

I ne'er have cheated Heaven since my birth;  
And now I lay my bones in Mother Earth.

Liu Ch'ing-shih, a scholar of the 12th century, during his last days, ere his strength failed, would discourse to his disciples on the Confucian Canon. When on his deathbed, he was visited by the great Minister, Chou Pi-ta, who bade him dismiss his fears. "無慮 I have no fears," whispered the dying man, "可澄 to dismiss."

This attitude of quiet courage is by no means universal, especially as there are many recorded instances of actual visions of another and a brighter world, quite sufficient to give pause even to the most self-satisfied moralist. There is a story of a high official, who on his deathbed saw a vision of celestial beings beckoning to him from the sky. In another case, the attendants on a dying Minister 忽聞天鼓響 suddenly heard the sound of drums in the air, and 見天門雲光爛開 saw the heavens open to receive a personage in official dress, who passed into the glory beyond. On looking down again, they found that their Minister was dead. What they had seen was his departing *hun*.

Accordingly, we find certain persons taking precautions. One man, in order to make things as sure as possible, gave orders that he should be buried holding in his left hand the Confucian Classic of Filial Piety and the Buddhist *sūtra* of the Lotus of the Wonderful Law (*Saddharma Pundarika*), and grasping in his right hand the *Tao Tê Ching*, the Bible of modern Taoism. The three great religions, so to speak, of China were thus all and adequately represented.

It is noticeable that in earlier days, even before the introduction of Buddhism, the Paradise of the Chinese was in the skies;

the nether world, with all its reproduction in shadow of the characteristics of this life, and with all the tortures of what we call the Chinese Purgatory, belongs to more modern times. This idea of a celestial heaven was once strangely emphasised by a man who, as his funeral offering to the family of a dead friend, sent a parcel of rare feathers, 其意欲使死者飛揚 the idea being to enable the soul to fly.

Meanwhile, our subject is dead and buried, in terms which we all understand. I have lately read that it was customary in ancient China to bury the dead naked. Clothes seem to have been a later addition, to enable the dead to meet their friends without inconvenience in the next world. One ancient worthy wished 以薪木爲櫬 to be buried in a hollow tree, as he declared had been customary in olden times, this method being best adapted 下不亂泉上不泄臭 to secure both the air above and the water below from any risk of pollution.

But in any case, what of the *hun* and the *p'o*?

We read in the Book of Rites, which has an authority of at least 2,000 years,

"The *hun*, which is associated with *ch'i*, vital force, goes back to heaven; the *p'o*, which is associated with the physical frame, goes back to earth."

Chu Hsi discards the idea of a twofold soul, and says that *hun* is a name for the vital force, and *p'o* for the body. He adds,— "Man, endowed with a limited amount of vital force, 須有箇盡時 must necessarily come to an end. When he does, his *hun* ascends to heaven, and his *p'o* reverts to earth; that is death. The hot part goes up, and the cold part goes down." He also says, "Sometimes the vital force fails before the body fails, and vice versa. For instance, a certain one (meaning himself) has lately become hard of hearing, and subject to loss of memory; that is an instance

of the body decaying before the vital force." But Chu Hsi continues, "人死終歸於散 When a man dies, he is dispersed, 然亦未便散盡 though not so utterly dispersed but that there are good grounds for hoping 祭祀有感格 to affect him by means of sacrificial worship. A person, however, once dispersed by death, 不可復聚 can never come together again (as a human being). The Buddhists indeed say that a man dies, and becomes a ghost, which ghost becomes a man again; but this amounts to arguing that 天地間常只是許多氣 in the universe there is a fixed amount of vital force 來來去去 which comes and goes, and that 便不由造化生生 Nature (the creative Power) has nothing to do with production, —必無是理也 which is absurd."

From this it may fairly be argued that Chu Hsi — China's great materialistic philosopher, as he has been called, — was certainly a believer in the immortality of the soul. His objection to the Buddhist doctrine of metempsychosis seems to be based, so far as I can follow his reasoning, on the absence from such a system of any part to be played by the Yin and the Yang, by the interaction of which principles all things, both in the animal and the vegetable kingdoms, are continually being reproduced.

I may digress a moment to mention that Chu Hsi quotes a case of a man whose body after three years became changed into fine jade. Having died the death of a patriot, his *p'o*, we are told, instead of disappearing in the earth, underwent a process of petrifaction, his spirit imparting to the dead clay a power of resistance which it would not otherwise have possessed.

So too Hau Wén-kung, in a famous funeral elegy, cries out in impassioned tones, —

"Not into foul earth, but into the pure essence of gold and gems, has thy dear form been changed."

One poet, 陳 寥 言 Ch'én Kua-yen of the T'ang dynasty, who evidently believed with the Taoists that all life comes from, and returns to, some dazzling centre away in the infinite, wrote the following farewell words:—

我 本 無 形 舊 有 形  
偶 來 人 世 逐 營 畢  
輪 囂 債 負 今 還 上  
搔 首 倦 然 歸 清

Originally formless, I have  
temporarily a form,  
And chance has thrown me into  
the bustling world of man.  
The wheel turns, and the long-standing  
debt must now be paid;  
So I scratch my head and wing  
my way back to the Pure Serene.

Speaking generally then, we must conclude that to the Chinese people death means the flight of the *hun* to heaven, and the descent of the *p'o* into earth, coupled with the dissolution of the body into clay. Is that all? Is finality permanently concealed from us behind an impenetrable veil? Is there?—

A land of souls beyond that sable shore—  
where once again, as the poet continues, we  
May hear each voice we feared to hear no more,  
Behold each mighty shade revealed to sight,  
The Bactrian, Samian sage, and all who taught the right.

Do the dead ever return? Are there spirits?  
On these last questions the opinions of Western philosophers are divided. China, however, answers them with an emphatic Yes. The imagination of the Chinese—a highly imaginative people—almost runs riot in this direction.

Wang T'an was very intimate with a certain Buddhist priest,

with whom he used often to discuss the probabilities of a future state; and it was agreed between them that whoever died first should inform the other of the real state of affairs. A year later, the priest appeared, and said, 'I am dead; the punishments and happinesses of a future state are not inventions. Hasten to repent, that you may rise to the joys of the blest.' He then disappeared, and soon afterwards Wang T'an died too.

With what happens in the nether world, the Hades of the Greeks and Romans, we have, properly speaking, no concern here, our interest being concentrated rather upon ideas indigenous to China. An exception perhaps may be made in the following case, which is curious as showing how the Chinese invariably surround foreign importations with a flavour all their own.

A certain man who died, on reaching the world below, was set to do clerk's work; but 見堆案繞壁 appalled at the sight of the vast masses of archives he was told to copy, he pretended to have writer's cramp, and was allowed to return to earth. On recovering consciousness, however, he found 右手遂廢 that his right arm was permanently paralysed; the moral of this being that it does not do to sham even in the infernal regions.

Are the spirits of the dead near to us? is a question to which varying answers have been given by Chinese philosophers.

In an old book of family records, the author (who is unknown to me) tells how his great-uncle in his last illness declared that death was no more than going into the next room; and how finally, on his deathbed, the dying man pointed at the window, and said, "吾之死止如隔此紙爾 When I am gone, I shall be no farther from you than as it were the other side of that paper,"—which of course everybody here knows is a common substitute for glass.

Sometimes the spirit is even closer. There is a story of a

maidservant, who when left alone with a corpse, tried furtively to appropriate to her own use some of the funeral clothing. The body, however, suddenly began to get very hot; and the terrified woman fled.

Let us go back to Confucius. It is well known that one of the four topics on which he refused to discourse was the existence and rationale of spirits. The term *hun p'o*, soul, does not seem ever to have been employed by him. We are told that when he offered sacrifices, he did so with the same earnestness and with the same sense of solemnity as if the spirits were present,—a phrase which is splendidly ambiguous, and leaves us quite in the dark as to whether he believed that the spirits were present or not. His countrymen, however, long before his own days, did believe, as the majority of them still believe, that the spirits of the dead do indeed revisit the glimpses of the moon, and play an important part in human affairs. In the *Odes*, we are warned to be careful; for spirits come upon us unawares, sometimes to bless and protect, at other times to exact retribution for evil deeds. Chinese literature teems with examples, similar in every way to those in Mr. Myers' book, of spirits which have manifested themselves at important junctures to friends and relatives. Let me quote an example from Mr. Myers to show exactly what I mean. He has recorded a case of a guilty father-in-law, whose spirit appeared after death to ask pardon for wrongs committed. "I seized," says the forgiving son-in-law, "the ghost's hand, which was long and cold, and I shook it."

One Chinese philosopher has said of all the phenomena of this life, necessarily therefore including spirits, "**彼之有無在此不在彼** Whether they exist objectively or not, depends on us and not on them." This dictum, which makes of spiritual apparitions merely subjective phenomena, has been popularised into the well-known saying, "Bogies only appear to those who believe in them."

According to Liu Hsiang of the 1st century B.C., a disciple asked

Confucius, saying, “死人有知無知也 Are the dead conscious or not?” Confucius replied, “If I say that the dead are conscious, I fear that filial sons and dutiful grandsons 勸生以送死也 will neglect the living in order to do honour to the dead; and if I say that the dead are not conscious, then I fear that unfilial sons and undutiful grandsons 棄不葬也 will leave their parents' corpses without burial. My son, if you would know whether the dead are conscious or not, 死後徐自知之猶未晚也 it will be time enough to find out when you go among them yourself.”

A certain Chinese Judge who felt that his end was approaching, said to some friends, “所恨未知死後佳否耳 I only regret that I do not know if the next world is a state of happiness or not.” A scholar who occupied one of the lower seats, at once declared that it was undoubtedly a state of great happiness; whereupon the Judge looked at him in amazement, and asked him how he knew that to be so. “If the next world were not a state of happiness,” replied the scholar, “the dead would one and all hurry back again; but as no dead men ever do come back, 是以知其佳也 we must conclude that they are enjoying themselves where they are.” At this, the whole party burst into a laugh, in which, as we read in our own law reports, the Judge himself joined.

But it is time to bring this desultory sketch to a close. The chief point I desire to establish this evening is that the theory of a twofold soul, as elaborated by Mr. Myers, was anticipated in China many centuries ago.

[This paper was read at a meeting of The China Society on 21st March, 1907.]

## NOTES ON BOOKS.

Quite a number of books on Chinese topics, interesting and otherwise, have recently been placed on the market. Under the title of "Early Chinese History," with the alarming sub-title of "Are the Chinese Classics Forged?" Mr. H. J. Allen boldly challenges the literary world to a combat in which he certainly gives long odds to his opponents. The pages, however, of *Adversaria Sinica* are not intended for book-reviews in the ordinary sense of the term, but they are rather for the discussion of linguistic and other questions arising out of the interpretation of Chinese texts. Notices of books, as found in newspapers nowadays, are mostly worthless; for the simple reason that if a book is unfavourably reviewed, the publisher, whose money is at stake, will withdraw his advertisements from the columns of the offending journal.

On one occasion, being asked to review a wretched hash of a great subject, I sent in a critique which was promptly paid for, but never published. On another occasion, in response to a similar request, I thought it fair to write and say that I could only notice the work in question in terms which the newspaper might not care to publish. For this I was profusely thanked by the editor, who told me that the author was also an occasional contributor, and of course it would not be desirable to offend him. Authors, therefore, who send their books to me should understand that I care only to raise points of interest as above stated, always drawing attention to any apparent inaccuracies, in the hope that the author's statement may either be

verified or recognised as erroneous, the result in each case being that Sinology moves onward in consequence.

The object of Mr. Allen's book, namely, to show that the whole body of the Confucian Canon is one gigantic forgery, is not the first effort of its kind. Father Hardouin, S. J., who lived in the 17th and 18th centuries, maintained in his *Chronologicon* that all classical literature, including the writings of the Christian Fathers, had been written to order, in other words, forged.

There are several minor points in Mr. Allen's book which invite discussion. On p. 40 he says that

the country of the 交趾 crossed toes, is Annam, so called because it is pretended that the great toes of the inhabitants cross each other when their feet are placed side by side.

"Cette fable," says Professor Chavannes in his *Mémoires Historiques*, "est répétée à satiéte par les commentateurs chinois." Some few have traced the term to the fact that the sexes in the said country used to bathe together; but the great majority are on the side of "parted toes," derived from the separation of the big toe from the rest of the foot, like a thumb. Professor Parker declares (*China*, p. 209) that he himself noticed this peculiarity; but Chinese drawings of the people fail to give any indication of this, and, as Professor Chavannes says,

M. des Michels fait remarquer avec raison que les Annamites ne présentent point cette particularité physiologique.

It seems to me that "parted toes" is, if anything, several degrees weaker than "crossed toes." For 交手 means to cross the arms, and 交胫 means to cross the legs, there being actually a nation of that name recorded and figured in Chinese literature as having crossed legs. In fact, all the above explanations are probably moonshine, and the meaning of the term remains unknown.

"Chinese Thought," by Dr. Paul Carus, is a compilation from the writings of others, and contains nothing new, except new mistakes, in addition to those of the authors quoted. Dr. Carus is perhaps not at his best when he tells us (p. 55) that

the professional diviners who practise *feng shui* are called *sien-shêng*, 'the elder born,' which is a title of respect and has been translated professor.

Or, when (p. 58) he translates 罷盤 *lo-pan* (sic) by "net-tablet," and 盤式 *pan-shih* (sic) by "disk-norm," apparently forgetting that on p. 40 he had already given us "盤古 P'an-Ku = basin ancient, and 盤固 P'an-Ku = basin-solid," of which he erroneously says,

both are homophones. i. e., they are pronounced the same way.

Then (p. 154) we have such mistakes as "China's greatest poets, Li Pai, Tu Mu, and Pai Lu T'ien." Again, residents in China will be amused to hear that

a Chinaman cannot defraud a foreigner without being severely punished, but if a Chinaman be cheated by a European or perhaps an American trader, he has no redress whatever. The wronged Chinaman can go to the ambassador(!) or minister of the nation to whom the man who beat or cheated him belongs, but the ambassador has been sent to protect his countrymen, not to sit in court over them and punish them.

But the funniest blunder of all is perhaps to be found on p. 178, in connection with the Tai Ping (sic) rebellion. Dr. Carus tells us that there were two leaders

of special prominence, Tien (sic) Teh (Heavenly Virtue), a person who claimed to be a descendant of the ancient Ming dynasty, and Hung Hsiu Ch'üan, a Christian who called himself Tien (sic) Wang, or Heavenly King.

The fact, of course, is that T'ieu Teh and Hung Hsiu-ch'üan were one and the same person, T'ieu Teh being simply his year-title. Finally, among his illustrations Dr. Carus reproduces several entirely out-of-date absurdities, such as (p. 142) "The Pailoo gate at Amoi," in which the Chinese characters are represented by mere scribble.

This class of illustration was good enough for the first edition of "The Middle Kingdom," but will scarcely find a market now.

The **字典標目**, "A Guide to the Dictionary," by Thomas Jenner, Member of the China Society, is apparently meant to illustrate the application of Stokes' mnemonic system to the Chinese and Japanese languages, which system I once tried myself and found wanting. Mr. Jenner is at great pains to give us a key to the Radicals, which no one in his senses ever thinks now of committing to memory in the old-fashioned style of Wade and others. Then follow more Keys, to the dynasties, etc. Professor Parker, to whom this book is dedicated, should have been asked to look over the proofs. Mistakes abound; *e.g.* (p. 62) 或 for 咸, 繢 for 緒; (p. 63) 始皇帝 Che-wang-te, 平帝 Ping-te; (p. 64) Chiu-lien ch'eng 九鍾城, and 莫夫嶺 Mo-t'ien-ling; so that the beginner, if he is foolish enough to begin with this book, will have a sufficiently bad time. Let us hope that, as Mr. Jenner says in his motto from the *Shu*, 惟狂克念作聖 the foolish, by thinking, may become wise, and that there will be no further issue of this work, already in its second edition.

"The Chinese Language, and how to learn it," by Sir Walter Hillier, may be divided into three parts, namely, 36 pages of introduction, 136 pages of practical exercises, and 91 pages of Radicals and vocabularies. If the first and last parts had been omitted, and pp. 73 to 81, on grammar, had been struck out of the middle, we should have had a short primer of Chinese colloquial which, barring a good many mistakes in tones, might fairly have been recommended on its merits to a beginner. Part 1, as above, which carries us back to the Stone Drums, contains some serious mistakes. On p. 1 we are told that the 六書故 is a "treatise," and that it

was translated by Mr. L. C. Hopkins. It is of course an extensive dictionary, of which Mr. Hopkins translated the preface. On pp. 32, 33, devoted to instruction in writing characters, we are told that

福 *fu<sup>2</sup>*, prosperity, is a character with which every Chinese, literate or illiterate, is familiar; it is the best, or one of the best-known characters in the language, and it is in evidence on every doorway at the new year time, not to mention other occasions, in every place where the Chinese script is known. This is how it is written,—

or more precisely, how it is *not* written; for I grieve to say that Sir W. Hillier, patiently labouring out the character, stroke by stroke, wrongly brings it under the Radical 衣 clothes, instead of under 示 divine manifestation. It is also wrongly written in the passage above quoted, for which purpose a faulty character seems to have been specially provided by the printer.

The translation of the *Lun-Hêng*, by Professor Forke, was a serious work to undertake and to carry through. The author added to his labours by adopting English as the language into which he would render these essays of the first century after Christ. German sinologues cannot yet work for the German public alone; the market is too small for their enterprises to be financially successful. In any case, Chinese philosophy finds few readers. I cannot say that I made a fortune out of Chuang Tzû, the translation of which occupied the best part of two years. The present volume, which does not complete the work, runs to 577 pages; it would therefore be, to say the least, unusual if no points open to discussion were to be found. Over and above the corrections under Errata and Addenda, there are a good many others to be made, such as aspirates left out and wrongly put in; e. g. p. 10, last line but one *tsung* for 譚 *ts'ung*; and p. 39, line 10, *Ch'uang* for 莊 *Chuang*; while on pp. 208, 209, 鄭 is six times wrongly written *Ch'êng*. In

in this connection it may be mentioned that on p. 64, chapter 1, line 1, we have *K'uci-chi* for 會稽. On line 5 of the same page we have *Kuci-chi*, which is corrected in the *Errata* to *K'uei-chi*. So far as I know, 會 is here correctly read *kuci*<sup>4</sup>, and thus it has stood for over fifteen years in my Chinese-English Dictionary, without any protest from the critics. Playfair gives *kuci*; Chavannes *koci*; less accurate writers have thought it was *hui*. Then again, Professor Forke elects to write *Ssü Ma Ch'ien* and *Ssü Ma Hsiang Ju*, which does not help students to recognise *Ssü-ma* as a double surname, while in any case it is a pity to depart, for no reason, from an old-established custom. So, on p. 379, note 2, "*Han-shih-wai-ch'uan*," the last character being 傳, is a very awkward mistake to make and to leave uncorrected. It is a mistake which occurs all through Lord Crawford's Catalogue and Number Key, in spite of revision by Professor Douglas.

On p. 128, Wang Ch'ung says, "In the text of the Six Classics," and Professor Forke adds as a note, "We now speak of the Five Classics," etc. But so does Wang Ch'ung on p. 86, line 3 from foot, and the reader is left to reconcile this discrepancy himself. Throughout his work, Professor Forke styles *Ssü-ma Ch'ien* the "Grand Annalist;" though if one thing has been established more certainly than any other by Professor Chavannes (*Mém. Hist.*, ch. 1), it is that 太史公 should not be rendered Grand Annalist, but "Grand Astrologer."

On p. 100, we read

Ceremonies originate from a want of loyalty and good faith, and are the beginning of confusion.

In a note, Professor Forke says, "This argument is quite Taoist." It is indeed; and if Professor Forke will look into that patently spurious work, the *Tao Te Ching*, ch. XXXVIII, he will find it in all its glory, though Wang Ch'ung gives no hint of this,—for

obvious reasons, which however will not appeal to Professor Parker. Similarly, the following sentences on p. 98 require revision:

The people resemble fish and beasts. High virtue governs them as easily as one fries small fish.

These words are made up from two truncated apophthegms by Lao Tzü, now found in chs. 38 and 60 of the *Tao Te Ching*, and the last sentence 上德治之若烹小鮮 means that the people ought to be governed in the same way that small fish ought to be cooked; the former must not be over-governed, just as the latter must not be overcooked. The word "easily" spoils the sense completely. On p. 115 we have "Fan Sui" four times, and on p. 147 three times repeated as a transliteration of 范睢, which is also "Fan Sui" in the Index. This was one of Mayers' mistakes, being so given in his Chinese Reader's Manual. But there is no excuse for its perpetuation at this late date.

On p. 332, note 4, as the explanation of finding 胡 for 鬚, as well as for 湖, we read,

In ancient times only the phonetic part of a character was often written, and the radical left out.

The correct explanation, however, seems to be that the radicals were only inserted at a later date, when it became necessary to write with precision; they cannot be said to have been "left out," as at the present day, when an archaic style is often affected.

On p. 335, we have, "There is a village called 勝母 *Vanquish Mother*; and on p. 445, "Tséng Tse declined to enter into a village called *Mother's Defeat*." The text is the same in both cases, but neither of Professor Forke's renderings give the true meaning, which is "Better-than-a-Mother."

On p. 341, we read that 文摯 Wén Chih

cannot have lived later than the 4th century B.C., for he is mentioned in Lieh Tse.

But if there is one book which is universally recognised as an egregious forgery, and which even Professor Parker cannot champion, it is the pretended work of Lieh Tzü, whose biography is not given in the *史記 Shih chi*, and who was a figment of Chuang Tzü's fertile brain.

The work of translation has been performed, with reservations, in a satisfactory manner. To translate 詩亡 by "the Odes were forgotten," as on p. 457, is a quite unnecessary mistake, as it had been already correctly translated by Legge, "the Odes ceased to be made," — the only rendering possible in the 三字經: 詩既亡, 春秋作. In like manner, "Ti Ku had a double tooth" (p. 304) for 帝鑿駢齒, should read, "Ti K'u (not Ku) had joined teeth," i. e. his teeth were all in one solid block. But as a specimen of those translations in regard to which I should join issue with Professor Forke, the following passage may be considered.

On pp. 218, 219, we read how Wang Mang desecrated the graves of two Empresses, who had been buried at an interval of 900 years apart; and how from one of these graves a stench came out which killed the Governor of Lo-yang on the spot, while from the other a flame burst forth, and burned several hundred people to death. When, however, the grave of the famous First Emperor was desecrated, nothing happened! If then the spirit of a mighty Emperor could do nothing in such a case, how can we believe that the spirits of two women could perform miracles? The text goes on, —

變神非一、發起殊處、見火  
聞臭則謂丁傅之神誤矣

They are believed to have become spirits, but not in the same way, and to have shown their powers in different places. People saw flames, and smelled bad odour. Consequently the assertion that both became spirits is erroneous.

The above conveys next to no meaning; but if the paragraph be

read as I have punctuated it, Wang Ch'ung's argument becomes clear, as follows:—

There was no uniformity in these spiritual manifestations, and they occurred in different places. Therefore, to attribute the fire seen and the stench smelt to the spirits of Ting and Fu, is a mistake.

Volume XXXVIII of the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society contains the following passage (p. 72) in reference to 鹽 *Ku*:—

Giles says that 'it is a virulent poison prepared by putting all kinds of poisonous insects and reptiles together in a box, and letting them eat each other (sic) until only one remains.' This definition is incomplete.

Then comes a long rigmarole explaining why my definition is incomplete. But if Mr. E. T. Williams, the writer, will consult the 洗冤錄 *Hsi yüan lu*, Book III, p. 37, he will find that I had nothing to do with the definition beyond translating it as faithfully as I was able. In 1873 I translated the whole of the above work, and half of it was published in the *China Review*, vol. III, including the passages given by Mr. Williams on pp. 87, 88, 89. The second half is still, and likely to remain, in manuscript. Mr. Kingsmill's valuable note on p. 220, in which he successfully identifies the 篪翟 (correctly 篪) with the double flutes ( $\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\eta$ ) of ancient Greece, should be read in connection with p. 119 of *Adversaria Sinica*, and verified by reference to Rich's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities, p. 664. The 篪, as we are told in the Odes, was held in the left hand, and is therefore the  $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\delta\varsigma\gamma\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\kappa\eta\delta\varsigma$  or treble; the 翟 was held in the right hand, and is the  $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\delta\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\delta\varsigma\eta\delta\varsigma$  or bass. This important identification, forming another link between ancient China and ancient Greece, deserves more than a passing notice. Mr. Kingsmill's suggestion, too (p. 221), on the origin of the term Jiu jitsu, "the art of the Avars," should be added on p. 137.

"Chinese Metallic Mirrors," by Professor Hirth, is a reprint from the Boas memorial volume, and like all this writer's work, it is of a very interesting character. But I cannot accept his new rendering, on p. 215, of

### 人無於水監、當於民監

One should not (have one's own image) reflected in the water, but one should have other folks' (images) reflected.

The saying seems to me to mean,

Men should not go to water for their reflections, but to other people.

That is, they should judge how they must appear to others by observing how others, under similar circumstances, appear to them; by such means they will obtain right guidance. The words cannot mean, as might appear, "see ourselves as others see us."

On p. 234 we have

### 以鏡自照見形容 以人自照見吉凶

By having ourselves reflected in a mirror we see a face; by having ourselves reflected in mankind, we see the future [literally, "good and bad luck"].

This is a legend on a mirror; and in my opinion the real meaning is,

Looking at ourselves in a mirror,  
we see our form and face;  
Looking at ourselves in others,  
we see our excellencies and defects.

[The character 鏡, by the way, always appears in the Chinese text with 見 as the lower portion on the right.]

This rendering is borne out by another mirror-legend, not given by Professor Hirth:—

### 人徒鑒於鏡、止於見形、 鑒人可以見情

Man vainly looks into a mirror, for he only sees his outward form; by looking at others, he will be able to see his inward self.

On p. 240 (note 2), Professor Hirth adopts Mayers' date of 王充 Wang Ch'ung's death; namely, A. D. 90. The text quoted says 永元中 "in the middle of the Yung yüan period," that is, between A. D. 89 and 104. This could scarcely be 90; and in my Biographical Dictionary I set down A. D. 97, a date which is now supported by Professor Forke.

On p. 244, Professor Hirth says, "I have not been able to find out who 吾子行 Wu Tzü-hang was." His record will be found in the 萬姓統譜. His name was 吾衍 Wu Yen, and his style was Tzü-hang. He was a native of 仁和 Jen-ho in Chehkiang. He gave himself up to study and teaching, and lived in an upper chamber, having his pupils below. The usual amusing stories are told of his treatment of visitors. He was known as 貞白先生 the Chaste and Spotless Teacher. No list of his works is given. Professor Hirth's account of the so-called magic mirrors is extremely interesting and valuable. On p. 246 he mentions the following inscription on one of these mirrors:

而 日 而 月 而 內 而 金  
而 清 而 明 而 照 而 心

and adds that

the character 而 seems to be a mere ornamental expletive, inserted for the purpose of puzzling the reader.

Professor Hirth tells us that in similar inscriptions 而 is explained by 天 heaven, day; but as that helps to no particular meaning here, I venture to suggest the following explanation.

The character 而 has other senses besides "and," the copulative particle, the only one quoted by Professor Hirth. Two of its meanings are "like" (= 如), and "thou" (= 爾); and with the aid of these keys we arrive at a very natural and intelligible legend for a magic mirror, to wit,—

Like the sun, like the moon, like water, like gold, be thou clear and bright, and reflect (what is in) thy heart.

The character 內 stands of course for 內.

Various causes have hitherto prevented me from looking at all closely into the two fine quartos, published in 1907, under the title of "Ancient Khotan," by M. Aurel Stein. I have now repaired this error of omission, and am prepared to suggest a few corrigenda (other than those given on pp. XV, XVI) in the strictly Chinese references, — the part of course in which I am specially interested, and on which alone I have any claim to be heard. Mr. Stein himself makes no pretension to any knowledge of Chinese; and in that sense his responsibility hardly extends to the few points I am about to raise.

P. X.—"The encyclopaedia of the *Pien i tien*," and p. 151, "In Book LV of that vast encyclopaedia the *Pien i tien*." Butt he 邊裔無 *Pien i tien* is only a part of the geographical section of a really vast encyclopaedia, known as the 圖書集成, a copy of which stands in the British Museum.

P. 151.—"The name of the capital Kia-che (Chia-shih, 遺瑟), which I am unable to trace." 瑟 here seems to be a mistake for 師, as 遺師 actually stands for Kashgar.

P. 167.—扌 han is a misprint for 扌 yü.

P. 171.—"Chi-shih 言十式." Read 計式.

P. 179.—"Two other wines, violet and blue in colour." These colours are taken from Rémusat's *Ville de Khotan*. The Chinese terms are 紫 and 青, which would be properly purple (i. e. claret colour) and pale green. The latter of these would very probably be koumiss, to which this character has actually been applied.

P. 179 (note).—"The Chinese term 州 chou, city." This character is indeed defined in the 周禮 *Chou li* as "a collection of 2500

houses," but it can hardly be said ever to have the meaning of "city" in literature, and the ordinary rendering "district" would seem more appropriate here.

P. 278.—The "curious sugar-loaf hat," figured in Plates 59 and 62, may still be seen in China.

P. 432.—For "Hsin Li-ch'an" read "Hsin Li-ch'uan." The decipherment of these characters by Professor Chavannes is not quite satisfying. As seen in the photograph on Plate XI, a portion of the sgraffito, which is written vertically, reads clearly enough 国使□□利川; that is to say, there is exactly room for two characters where Professor Chavannes gives us only one which he is compelled to extend over the double space. Not only that, but in order to work in 辛 *hsin*, it becomes necessary to write it in a very unusual way, namely, with four horizontal strokes instead of three, a most unlikely proceeding on the part of a person who wrote the vulgar 国 for 國. What Professor Chavannes regards as the top of *hsin*, which fills the first of my blanks above, seems to me to be 之; and what he regards as the lower half of *hsin*, admittedly 丰, seems to me to be a substantive character. Further, as we see the writer favoured abbreviated characters, this last may very well stand for 豐, which is also a surname.

P. 512.—With regard to the famous forgeries of Islām Ākhūn, Mr. Stein says that "mere twists of paper" employed for the fastenings of books, "would *a priori* have justified the gravest suspicions as to their genuineness." But "mere twists of paper" are characteristic of cheap Chinese bindings, and are extensively used for that purpose at the present day.

Turning now to vol. II, Plates 50, 89, and 90, I do not see that sufficient pains have been taken to read the inscriptions on the seals and coins there reproduced. Of A. 004. b Mr. Stein says, "finely engraved with what may be Chinese lapidary characters or

fret." The character appears to be a rather fanciful 尚, which is sometimes used in the sense of Imperial.

A. 001. c., "fret device." It is a common ornamental way of writing the character 萬 *wan* myriad.

M. 001. a., "Bronze seal bearing badly engraved Chinese(?) characters." The characters may look badly engraved in the photograph, for it is printed upside down and may thus have defied all attempts at decipherment. Turned the right way round, it becomes interesting at once, and the interest increases step by step. To begin with, we find the character 門, not badly engraved, at the bottom; and as this is not a classical character, we may take the liberty of writing down, hypothetically, 關 *kuan*, a pass, for which it is used as an abbreviation. With a little trouble, the top character can be identified as 玉 *yü*, jade; and we are now left with a difficult middle character, which is so close to an old form of 壑 that we may well put it on trial. The question now arises, Does 玉壘關 offer anything appropriate as well as intelligible in the circumstances? The reader may judge this for himself, when he learns that the Yü-lei kuan was a pass on the frontier of Shansi, with a wide view extending towards Tibet, on the highroad to Khotan. Of L. 003, Mr. Stein says, "Obv. shows in cameo one of the hundred forms of the character 壽 = 'longevity' (Dr. Bushell). "Hundred" is of course figuratively used for "many," and there are certainly not one hundred recognised ways of writing any Chinese character, though little books may be bought actually showing this huge number of forms (faked) not only of this character, but also of 福 happiness. The well-known 六書分類 gives as many as 55 ways of writing "longevity," but not one of those bears the faintest resemblance to the character on L. 003. The latter seems to resolve itself easily into two complete Chinese words, written almost in everyday script, namely 永 and 実, and

is capable of interpretation as "Assisting Sung," or (= 承) "Receiving appointment [from the House of] Sung."

Of the Chinese coins, with the exception of those which are quite illegible, only one presents much difficulty, to wit, No. 5; the rest are clear enough. Dr. Bushell suggests 方 for the troublesome character on the left of this coin, but I can find no such form in any numismatic work, Chinese or foreign, within my reach. It is, without much doubt, an old form of 金 metal, gold, money; and the two characters may well mean "Khotan money," referring to some local mint.

No. 11 is wrongly transliterated on pp. 205, 574, and 579, as "*Hou ch'üan*;" it should be "*Huo ch'üan*,"—a small difference, but an important one, as both sounds exist in Chinese.

Nos. 36 and 37 are identified by Dr. Bushell as belonging to the period "Yüan-yu (1086—93 A. D.); but the character on the right of 36 could not possibly be 祐, and to my eye is clearly 豊, thus giving "Yüan-fêng (1078—85 A. D.)," as the correct rendering.

With regard to No. 37, there must be some confusion. Dr. Bushell, as said above, classes it with No. 36; yet the characters on it are plainly 宣和通寶 *i. e.* "Hsüan-ho (1119—26 A. D.)," the two parts of *ho* being, as often, transposed.

No. 39 is given as "Shêng-sung (1101 A. D.),"—a term which does not exist either as year-title or style of reign. The characters are 崇寧 Ch'ung-ning, and the date is 1102—06 A. D.

No. 40, with an erroneous transliteration "Tsung Ning," belongs to the same period.

## PHRENOLOGY, PHYSIognomy, AND PALMISTRY.

Phrenology, as a science, has been familiar to the Chinese for many centuries past, and it is worth remarking that the earliest notice of it in Chinese literature—by a famous philosopher known as 荀子 Hsün Tzü, of the third century B.C.—is 非相篇 a denunciation of its principles and practice as charlatanism and humbug. Hsün Tzü declared that

形相雖惡而心術善無害爲君子也 although a man's appearance might be bad from a physiognomist's point of view, yet if his principles were good, he would not be far from perfection.

The ingenious author of the 論衡 *Lun hêng*, on the other hand, who was a thorough sceptic as regards spiritualism, maintained that a man's destiny could be predicted from his 骨肉 physical frame, and he quotes a number of instances in which great men of past times have been distinguished by recognised peculiarities of face or person. This attack was directed especially against those quacks who began to stretch the function of phrenology beyond the outward expression of emotions and intellectual faculties on the surface of the head, to prophecy and directions for guidance in regard to the future of each individual. How far he succeeded may be gauged from the fact that in any town in China, at the present day, may be found "professors" of phrenology, who, for a small fee, will examine your head and advise you on marriage or other risky investments.

In regard to the head, Chinese investigators, especially in recent times, have always shown a marked preference for the face; and three-fifths, perhaps, of what has been written by them would come rather under the head of physiognomy. Not only, however, are these two branches brought together in the same category, but palmistry, consideration of the shape of the body, deportment, and even the timbre of the voice, are also included.

The skull, colloquially known as the "brain bag," is considered to be most perfect when it is round, with a tendency towards a conical rising at the top, the latter feature indicating great intellectual powers. A "hatchet" face, with a broad flat top to the head, means vacillation and indecision. Of the brain itself, as we might expect, but little is known. It is regarded, among other things, as the source and reservoir of marrow.

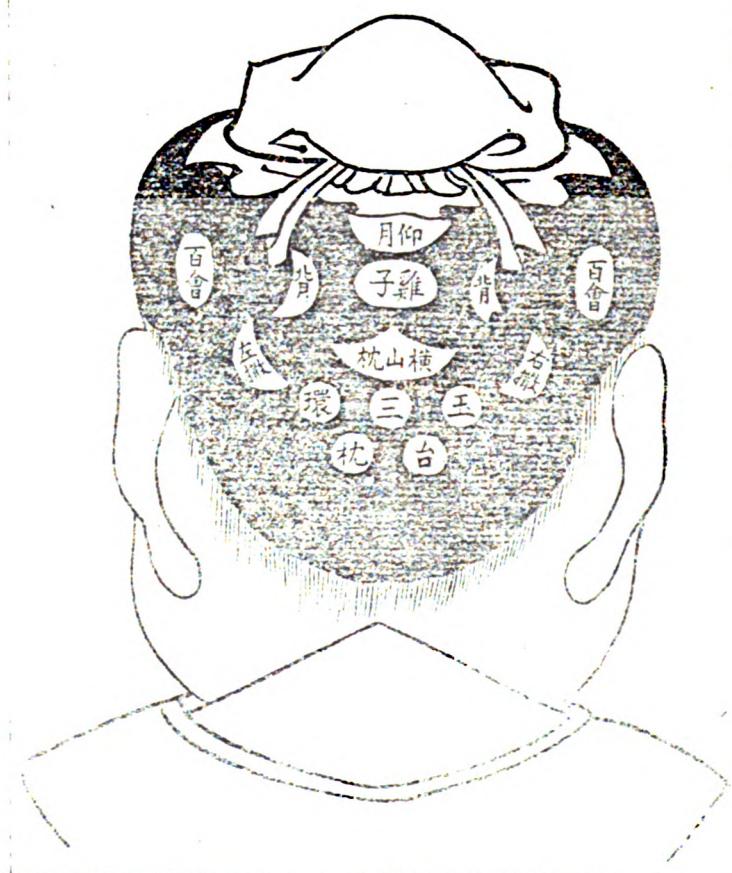
The most important parts of the skull are the forehead and the occiput, the latter of which is called the "pillow-bone." Generally speaking, a high and broad forehead (隆然而起聳然而闊) gives good hope of long life. There are, however, many other details to be taken into calculation.

Bumps and depressions on the occiput play an important part. These terms are represented in the language by two simple pictures,  *tich* and  *wa*, respectively. Carefully-made diagrams of the head, with bumps and depressions duly marked and appraised, are to be found in all good native works on phrenology. Taking a diagram of the occiput as an example, we find two connected bumps, low down at the back of the head, to denote a martial temperament; a bump nearer the top, shaped like an egg lying on its side, to denote truthfulness and firmness; two similar egg-shaped bumps, but standing on end, one on each side of the head, to denote a fiery temperament and great self-confidence; two crescent-shaped bumps between these last two, to denote longevity; an

irregularly shaped bump, to denote liberal-mindedness; three small bumps below to denote intelligence, and so on.

A thin pointed nose is a sign of homicidal tendencies. Philopro-

圖 枕 玉



genitiveness is placed in the cheekbones, any peakiness of which is fatal to the Chinaman's dearest wish—a family of sons.

The Chinese undoubtedly believe the outer configuration of the skull

to be dependent upon the shape of the brain within, and they connect certain moral qualifications with certain bumps and depressions found on the skull. In conformity with the Confucian dogma that man was born good, and becomes evil only by his environment, so they further believe that bumps and depressions are developed on the surface of the skull by influences from within, which influences, in their turn, have been inspired from without. Palmistry, as has been stated above, is one of the branches included under the general head of 相術 Art of Inspection. Its object is twofold: (1) to ascertain the mental and moral characteristics of persons, and (2) to foretell happiness or misfortune, success or failure, disease, and death. An instance is given of a young lady of the tenth century A. D., who had no brothers and was obliged to perform some of the mourning ceremonies before the image of her dead father. While thus occupied, she was observed by a visitor, named 陳搏 Ch'en T'uan (the well-known poet, d. A. D. 989), who had come to condole. "I did not see her face," he said, "but when she grasped the incense-burner I noticed that 手相甚貴 her hands gave promise of high position." Later on, this visitor married the young lady, and rose to be a Minister of State.

The author of the 神相全編 *Shén hsiang ch'üan pien* says,

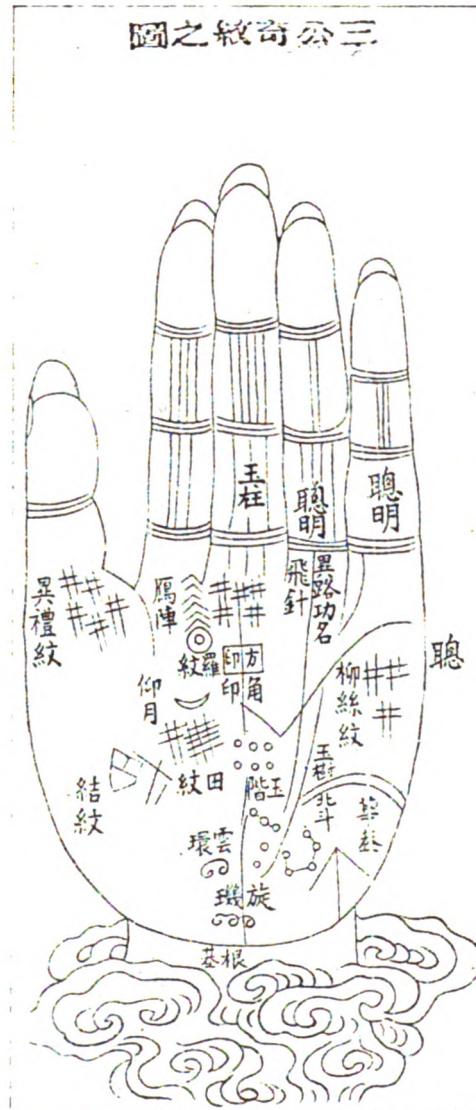
The hand is that by which we grasp, and it is used for taking and discarding. If slender and long, the owner's nature will be kindly and generous; if short and thick, it will be mean and grasping. A man whose hand reaches below his knees will be among the bravest and worthiest of his generation; but one whose hand does not reach below his waist will ever be poor and lowly. A small body and a large hand portend happiness and emolument; a large body and a small hand, purity and poverty.

Another passage runs as follows:—

The presence of lines on the hand may be compared with the grain in wood. If the grain is beautiful, the wood becomes known as excellent

material; and if the lines are beautiful, the hand is obviously well constituted. Therefore a hand should certainly have lines on it; those hands which have lines being of a higher order than those which have none. Fine and deep

lines mean success; coarse and shallow lines mean failure. Of the three chief lines on the palm, the uppermost answers to *heaven*; it connotes sovereign and father, and determines station in life. The middle line answers to *man*; it connotes wisdom and folly, and determines poverty and wealth. The lowest line answers to *earth*; it connotes subject and mother, and determines length of days. If these three lines are well defined and unbroken, they are an augury of happiness and official emolument. Vertical lines in excess mean a rebellious nature and calamity; horizontal lines in excess mean a foolish nature and ill-success. A vertical line running up the finger means that all plans will turn out well; random lines, which cross the creases of the fingers, mean that they will fail. Lines which are fine, and resemble tangled silk, indicate wit and beauty; coarse lines, like the grain of the scrub oak, indicate stupidity and a low estate.



Lines like scattered filings indicate a bitter life; lines like sprinkled rice-husks indicate a life full of joy.

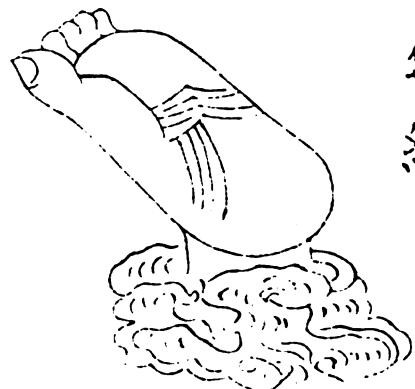
The Chinese, however, do not confine their investigations to the palm only; they examine carefully the lines on the back of the

hand, thus making "cheiromancy" a better term for the science than "palmistry." Nor do they omit the nails, each variety of which has its own signification. Thus, tapering nails indicate brains; hard and thick nails, old age; coarse and stumpy nails, dulness of wit; broken and sloughing nails, disease and ill-health; and so on. Then, when the hand is exhausted, the Chinese, who love to push every investigation of this kind to its logical conclusion, proceed to the feet, and extract indications from the lines on the soles. Those combinations which augur best are the "tortoise" and "bird" lines, as shown in the illustration. In conclusion, it should always be remembered that the wonderful system of identification by **指印** finger-prints, which is forcing the modern burglar to carry on his trade with gloved

足



禽  
紋



hands, was borrowed straight from China, where it has been in vogue for many centuries. Title-deeds, and other legal instruments, are still often found to bear, in addition to signatures, the finger-prints of the parties concerned; sometimes, indeed, the imprint of the whole hand.

In a small volume of the 12th century, entitled **史遺** Omissions from History, we read that a favourite concubine of the Emperor 明皇 Ming Huang (A. D. 713—756), having several times dreamed that she was invited by some man to take wine with him on the sly, spoke about it to the Emperor. "This is the work of a magician," said his Majesty; "next time you go, take care to leave behind you some record." That very night she had the same dream; and accordingly she seized the opportunity of putting her hand on an ink-slab and then pressing it on a screen. When she awaked, she described what had happened; and on a secret examination being made, the imprint of her hand was actually found in the Dawn-in-the-East Pavilion outside the palace. The magician however was nowhere to be seen.

## SWALLOWING GOLD

*Cunaram labor est angues superare mearum!*

It is now nearly thirty years since I began to flatter myself that I had disposed of what then seemed, and still seems to me, an absurd belief that the Chinese ever poison themselves by swallowing gold. There exists in the Chinese language, written and colloquial, a phrase in two words only, 吞金, admitted on all sides to signify "swallow poison." Its literal meaning is to "swallow gold," and the question at issue is whether gold is actually the poison intended, or whether it merely stands for one or other of the drugs used as a means of destroying life.

Williams, in his *Middle Kingdom*, vol. II. p. 543, writes of the Imperial Commissioner Yukien,

He retreated to Yüyau, beyond Ningpo, where he committed suicide, as was said, by swallowing gold leaf.

Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, chapter XII, p. 251, has the following less cautious statement:—

Swallowing gold-leaf is a very popular way of committing suicide by mandarins after their condemnation.

Dr. Jardine, of Kiukiang, a medical man engaged in an active practice amongst the Chinese of that port, in his report (*Customs Gazette*, No. 33, Jan.—March, 1877) to the Inspector-General of Maritime Customs, says,

Gold-leaf poisoning appears to be seldom practised here as a method of committing suicide, as I have heard of only one case during my three years' residence.

Again, in Dr. Mackenzie's *Report of the London Mission Hospital at Hankow* for the year ending 30th April, 1878, we find the following passage:—

Shortly after the above occurred, a case of poisoning by gold happened in the same neighbourhood, and an urgent request was sent for help, which ran as follows — Please come and see a woman who has poisoned herself, and bring with you the (tracheotomy) tube to make a second mouth, then we know she will recover.

But Dr. Mackenzie quite omits to mention (1) whether he subsequently attended the woman or not, and (2) if so, what was the result of his investigations.

Yeh Ming-shêu, the famous Viceroy whom we captured and held prisoner at Calcutta, said plainly enough that a lump of gold was actually swallowed, which, by its great weight, ultimately perforated the bowel, and caused the desired effect.

To these authorities Professor E. H. Parker, who appears to be a Professor of Lost Causes, has recently added himself, in a lecture to his students at Manchester. I gather from the *London and China Telegraph* of Feb. 4, 1907, that Professor Parker publicly stated that "gold-leaf was sometimes swallowed as a fastidious means of suicide." Let us now turn to Chinese literature, and see what we can pick up that will help us to a correct understanding of the term. To begin with, it does not occur in the 佩文韻府 *P'ci wén yün fu*, the great Concordance of Chinese literary phraseology, which was published in the year 1711. Neither can I find any such entry as "swallowing gold" in either the 幼學 *Yu hsiüeh*, the 廣事類賦 *Kuang shih lei fu*, or in any of the other numerous works of reference to which I have access; nor does the term appear to be mentioned throughout the whole range of the dynastic histories, or in any classical or other works whatsoever, with the following important exceptions.

It occurs twice in modern editions of the 洗冤錄 Instructions

to Coroners, a work which dates from the 12th century. In the first passage (§ IV, p. 27 *verso*) we read,

**治吞金** Cure for Swallowing Gold.—A man who has accidentally poisoned himself with gold should eat the flesh of partridge; for silver, rhizomes of *Coptis teeta*, Wall., and liquorice-root will answer the purpose. Further, salt which has been used to wash gold, the fat of camels, donkeys and horses, and 餘甘子 (?) *spondias amara*, will all soften gold; while the fat of sheep and 護子 (?) will both soften silver. In cases where gold or silver have been taken into the stomach, the above remedies should be used; they will soften the metal, and it will be easily passed.

The second passage is not found in the body of the book, but in a 補註 supplementary note (§ III, p. 21 *recto*) which cannot be more than 100 years old, as may be seen by a quotation under the year 1803. The complete passage, which includes the bracketed words, runs as follows:—

**吞金身死** Death from Swallowing Gold.—[Not in the original work.] A Viceroy of Yünnan, named Liu, having impeached and deprived of rank a general, named T'ien Yün-chung, the latter committed suicide by swallowing gold. When the corpse came to be examined, it had not changed in any way its shape and appearance, and the silver probing-needle failed to show any signs of discoloration. The facts of the case are that on the 5th of the month T'ien Yün-chung swallowed three gold rings, and that subsequently he felt much out of sorts, refusing his meals, and always asking for water to drink. On the 8th day of the month, he vomited without ceasing a quantity of yellow fluid, and in the night he died. From the above it is easy to draw two conclusions; (1) that the death is scarcely one to commend itself to a suicide who may have either opium, a cord, a razor, or a river, within reach; and (2) that the gold-leaf theory which Professor Parker championed is completely knocked on the head in the only official statement which has so far been published.

I will now turn to the 本草綱目 *Materia Medica*, which dates from A. D. 1578; and there, although failing to discover the phrase we are in search of, or anything indicating that swallowing gold was ever in Chinese history "a fastidious means of

suicide," we shall find some remarks which do bear upon the subject. In this work, the majority of writers quoted seem to agree that 生金有毒 gold in its natural state is poisonous, but that 熟金 (also called 黃金) 無毒 refined (or yellow) gold is not poisonous.

A story is told of the death of the Empress 賈 Chia of the 晉 Chiu dynasty. She is said to have 飲金屑酒而死 died from drinking gold-dust wine. But the best piece of evidence is one which is given twice, and by two different authorities, both of whom are alluding to the extraction of gold from the earth. The first writer, 陳藏器 Ch'êng Ts'ang-ch'i, says,

匠竊而吞者不見有毒 the workmen who steal and swallow the gold are not poisoned thereby.

The second writer says,

匠吞竊有腹中者亦不傷人 some of the workmen steal and swallow it into their bellies (as distinguished from taking it into the mouth only), but it does not hurt them.

Of course it is well known to scientific men that, although death may result from swallowing gold, there is nothing poisonous in the pure metal. An attempt has been made to show that gold leaf, if properly administered, may conceivably cause suffocation; but this is only to make the very mistake that Mencius warns us against:—

道在爾而求諸遠 the truth lies at hand, yet men search for it afar off; 事在易而求諸難 the thing is simple, yet men make it difficult.

The obvious explanation is that the phrase, like so many others connected with death and burial, is merely figurative,—a euphemism for suicide by poison; just as 作古人 "to become an ancient," 不祿 "not to draw pay," and 不在 "not to be" (*Cf.* Hamlet, "To be or not to be," and Genesis V, 24, "he was not, for God took him") are euphemistic expressions for death.

## JAPAN'S DEBT TO CHINA

In the first moon, in spring, of the second year of the period Chung-yüan (= A. D. 57), the king of the **倭奴國** Dwarf-slave nation, barbarians of the east, for the first time sent envoys with gifts.

This passage occurs in the History of the Later Han dynasty, which was compiled from official records by **范曄** Fan Yeh, a well-known scholar, who was executed for treason in A. D. 445. It is the earliest recorded mention by the Chinese of a nation whose country became known to them later on as **日本國** the Land of the Rising Sun, Japan.

In another part of the same work we further read:

The Dwarf country lies to the south-east of **韓** Korea, in the great ocean, and consists of rocky islands inhabited by over a hundred separate tribes. Since the conquest of Korea by the Emperor Wu Ti (B. C. 140—86), the Dwarfs have made over thirty attempts to enter into relations with China. Each tribe has its own king, and the office is hereditary. The great Dwarf suzerain resides at **樂浪** Lolang in **邪馬臺** Yamato, which is 12,000 *li* (about 4000 miles) from China (i. e. from Ch'eng-tu, the capital, in Ssü-ch'uan), the nearest kingdom on the north-west being 700 *li* distant. The country is extensive, and lies **會稽東冶之東** to the east of Chekiang and Fuhkien. It is **與朱崖儋耳相近** near to K'iung-chou, and consequently the manners and customs of these places are similar. It is adapted for paddy, hemp, silkworms, and mulberry-trees. The people know how to weave a kind of silk, and also produce white pearls and green jade. The hills are of red earth, which is of a warm character. In winter and summer, vegetables are grown for food. There are no cows, horses, tigers, leopards, sheep, or magpies (another writer says there are elephants and rhinoceroses). The soldiers are armed

with spears, shields, wooden bows and bamboo arrows, the heads of the latter being of bone. The men tattoo their faces and paint their bodies; and by the size and position of the stripes, they distinguish between the upper and lower classes. They wear a loin-cloth tied about them. The women let their hair hang down (one writer says, because they have no pins); they wear a garment which they put on over their heads, and smear their bodies with rouge, as the Chinese their faces. The people inhabit enclosures surrounded by palisades. Parents and sons live apart (as opposed to the patriarchal system of China), but men and women mix freely. They eat with their fingers, but use plates and dishes. They all walk barefoot, and squat on the ground as a sign of respect. They are much addicted to strong drink, and live to a great age, many reaching over a hundred years. Women are plentiful; grandees have four or five wives, other people two or three. The women are neither lewd nor jealous. Thieving is rare; so is litigation. The wives and children of ordinary criminals are killed; in very serious cases the whole clan is exterminated. After death, burial is delayed for some ten days. The family weep, but they do not offer wine and food to the manes; they sing and dance as a means of distraction. They tell fortunes by inspection of burnt bones. When about to travel, a person makes some man abstain from combing and bathing, from eating meat, and from intercourse with women. This man is called *持衰* (*ch'ih shuai*) *chisai*. Then if the journey is successful, the traveller gives the *chisai* presents; but if he is ill or meets with misfortunes, he attributes it to neglect on the part of the *chisai*, and promptly slays him. During the periods Chien-wu and Chung-yüan (A. D. 25-58), the Dwarf-slave nation came to Court with tribute and congratulations. The Envoy called himself a Minister of State in the extreme southern tribe of the Dwarf nation. The Emperor Kuang Wu bestowed on him an official seal.

We next hear of the Dwarf nation in A. D. 107, when they sent an embassy with offerings, consisting of one hundred and sixty slaves, and asked for an audience. The Dwarf country was then said to be in a state of civil war; for some years there had been no king, and at this date an unmarried woman, who was a spiritualist and sorceress, was on the throne. She was stated to have a thousand attendants, but to be very rarely seen except by one man, who gave her food and acted as intermediary. The visitors also said that four thousand *li* south of their nation was situated

the land of 侏儒 Pygmies, who were only three or four feet high; and that sailing thence for a whole year, the traveller would come to the 裸國 Naked nation, the Black-toothed nation, and others.

Silence until A. D. 238, when the queen of the Dwarf nation sent an envoy with presents, consisting of four male slaves, six female slaves, and a small quantity of cloth. These were graciously accepted, and valuable gifts, such as silk, copper, mirrors, swords, pearls, lead, and even gold, were bestowed upon the envoy in return, in order to display the magnificence and magnanimity of the great ruler who then sat upon the throne, — the dignified Emperor, who first admitted women to official life, and whose beard, when he stood up, touched the ground.

In A. D. 240 a mission was dispatched from China to the Dwarf nation, bearing valuable presents and a kindly letter to the queen, to which she returned a grateful and respectful reply.

So things moved pleasantly along for several centuries, during which are recorded, at short intervals, many embassies from the vassal Dwarfs to the Middle Kingdom. The last of this particular series reached China in the year 608, and in the following year, the Emperor — another of China's really powerful rulers — dispatched a mission to the Dwarfs. When the Imperial envoy reached his destination, after a splendid public reception, he was at once admitted to audience by the Dwarf King.

I sent an embassy with tribute, said the latter, because I had heard that away to the west lay the mighty empire of the House of Sui (the reigning dynasty), famous for cultivation of politeness and of duty towards one's neighbour; virtues, of which we barbarians, dwelling in an out-of-the-way corner of the ocean, know nothing. I hope therefore to detain you awhile, not merely for a brief audience; and I have therefore caused

a suitable residence to be prepared for you, in the hope that you will tell us something of the civilisation of your great empire. The virtue of His Majesty, replied the envoy, acts in unison with heaven and earth, and its benign influence extends over the Four Seas. It was because you desired the benefits of civilisation, that I was sent to proclaim them to you.

The King then conducted the envoy to his residence; and later on the envoy notified the King, saying,

Having now communicated to you my master's commands, I beg that you will make everything ready for my return journey.

Upon this, the King entertained him at a banquet, and finally sent an escort with him on his way back; but from that time forth, we are told, until the close of the dynasty, no more tribute was sent, nor presents of local produce.

With the year A. D. 618, a new epoch begins. The Sui dynasty had gone the way of all dynasties, and the House of T'ang ruled in its stead. The second representative of this new line, destined to last three hundred years, was in every way a most remarkable man. He ruled for his people's welfare. He crushed internal rebellion, and broke the power of China's hereditary foes. He introduced an improved division of the empire into provinces with subdivisions, reformed the civil and military services, and modified the Penal Code. He fostered learning, and tried to restore astronomy to its place as a practical science. Frugal in his own life, affectionate to his kindred, and genial in his intercourse with public officials, his fame spread far beyond the limits of the Middle Kingdom, which reached to the Caspian Sea and the Hindu Kush. He was said to have had the grace of a dragon and the beauty of a phoenix. He was beloved by all priests, Buddhist, Taoist, and even Christian; for it was under his auspices that Nestorian missionaries were allowed to settle at the capital in A. D. 636. In 643 the Greek

Emperor Theodosius sent a mission to his Court. In 644 he attempted to conquer Korea; but the expedition proved a disastrous failure. On one occasion he is said to have died and to have gone down into Purgatory, but to have recovered his life by the kindly alteration in the Book of Fate of a 13 into a 33. During a severe plague of locusts, he is said to have offered up a prayer to heaven, at the same time swallowing a live locust in evidence of his sincerity. A sarcastic writer of more modern times, however, suggests a paper imitation.

Before proceeding, it is convenient to consider here what had been the influence of China so far upon her island neighbour. We know that prior to any intercourse between the two countries Japan had no written language. At what date the script of China was introduced *via* Korea to the Japanese, will probably remain a matter for speculation. All we can say for certain is that the earliest mention of the study of the Chinese written language carries us no further back than A. D. 405. The first books produced in Japan appear to have been written in pure Chinese, an historical work of the kind being attributed to a Prince who died in A. D. 621. The next step was to make Chinese characters, regardless of their meaning, stand for Japanese sounds, the result of course being pure Japanese. In the 古事記 *Kojiki*, the first Japanese book, dated A. D. 712, which has survived to the present day, these two methods were combined, the former as being more classical, and the latter as better adapted to the expression of Japanese proper names.

It would be only natural that the language and literature of China should be accompanied on its journey to Japan by some of that imponderable quiddity known as civilisation. Of this, nothing need be said for the moment; later on the Japanese will be allowed

to speak on this point for themselves. Meanwhile, it may be stated that about the middle of the sixth century Buddhism was carried, also *via* Korea, into Japan. We may now return to chronological order. In the History of the T'ang dynasty, completed in 1060, we read as follows: —

In the 5th year of the period Chêng-kuan (= A. D. 631), the Rising-Sun nation sent an envoy to Court.

And from a further note we learn that "the Rising-Sun nation is the Dwarf-slave nation of old."

From this point onwards the Japanese people, stimulated to pride, no doubt, by the culture derived from contact with the Middle Kingdom, decline to speak of themselves any longer as the Dwarf nation, with or without the addition of "slave." The Chinese too, in their description of the Japanese at this date, record the fact that 有文字 "they possess a literature," and also add that 尚浮屠法 "they esteem the religion of Buddha."

Regarding the particular embassy last mentioned, we are told that "the Emperor, in pity for the great distance traversed, bade his officials not to exact from the envoy the usual yearly tribute." He also sent a Chinese envoy to convey the Imperial commands to the ruler of Japan; but owing to a squabble over the ceremonial (quite *à la* Lord Amherst), the envoy declined to carry out his mission, and accordingly returned.

In 654 a "Japanese" embassy brought tribute of coral and agate; and again in 655 another embassy arrived, accompanied by an envoy from the Ainos, whose beard was over four feet in length, and whose skill in archery was so great that when a gourd was put up at a distance of "many tens of paces, he hit it every time without missing."

Altogether some twenty embassies were sent from Japan to China between A. D. 618 and 853, at which latter date the T'ang dynasty was already beginning to show signs of its approaching fall. In the records of all of these, save two, the term "Japan" is employed. The exceptions are (1) under 669, when the term "Dwarf" seems to have slipped in accidentally, and (2) under 670, where we have the following entry: —

In the first year of the Hsien-hêng period (A. D. 670), the Dwarfs, who sent an envoy to congratulate on the pacification of Korea, for the first time called their country the Land of the Rising Sun. After becoming somewhat versed in the language of China, they took a dislike to the term 'Dwarfs,' and accordingly made this change, the envoy declaring that "Japan" was so named because it was near to the spot at which the sun rises. Others say that "Japan" was really the name of a small nation which had been incorporated by the Dwarfs, after which this nickname prevailed. The envoy, however, would not admit this, which leaves the question doubtful. The envoy also boasted that the capital of his country was several thousand *li* square, with the sea on the south and west sides, and with mountains on the east and north sides. Beyond the mountains were a race of 毛人 hairy men (Ainos).

From the date 853, as above, nothing more is heard of Japan until the year 984, under the reign of the second Emperor of the Sung dynasty. The Japanese, however, had not been idle. The *katakana*, a form of writing in which parts only of certain Chinese characters are used phonetically, had been invented, some say by Kibidaishi, who died in 776; and this was followed by the *hiragana* or cursive hand, said to have been introduced by Kobodaishi, who died in 835. By the 8th century the study of Chinese had made great progress; the Confucian Canon was taught in schools; and in 720 was completed the *Nihongi*, an official history of Japan from the earliest days down to the year 697, written in the Chinese language. Teachers of painting, medicine, etc., reached Japan from Korea; but the arts taught by these teachers were of pure Chinese

birth. That the magnificent poetry of the Han and T'ang dynasties was duly assimilated by the Japanese, at any rate in so far as its spirit is concerned, seems to be beyond all doubt; even in regard to form it may fairly be argued that the adoption of phrases of five and seven syllables each in Japanese poetry may be traced to the same source, and not to the Confucian Odes, as has been suggested by Japanese critics. The *Manyōshū*, a collection of Japanese poetry, recently published in 122 volumes, was completed early in the 9th century, and abounds, so far as one can judge from the translations of Chamberlain, Aston, and Dickins, with inspiration drawn from Chinese sources. Indeed, it is otherwise difficult to conceive how a nation just emerging from comparative barbarism, as Aston himself says, could have produced a vast body of verse, distinguished, also as Aston says, by polish, by delicacy of sentiment, by refinement of language, and by exquisite skill of phrase.

In A. D. 984, the Japanese sent a Buddhist priest as envoy to the Chinese Court. He was accompanied by five or six attendants, and offered as gifts various specimens of bronze ware, together with two books, one being a work on the official administration of Japan, and the other, chronological tables of its rulers. The envoy, we are told, could write Chinese elegantly, but could not speak it; and by means of writing he set forth that Japan was in possession of the Confucian and Buddhist Canons, and even of the works of the great modern poet Po Chü-i, who died in 846. He said that his country had also a copper coinage, with an inscription, based of course on the Chinese *cash*; and he mentioned two works on music, one Chinese and one Korean. He boasted of the silk produced by his country's looms, and wrote down the names of the sixty-four rulers who had sat upon the throne of Japan, as well as giving much geographical and other information.

On four subsequent occasions during this dynasty, the Japanese sent embassies to China, three of these being under the leadership of Buddhist priests, one of whom brought among his tribute offerings "5,000 ounces of quicksilver." The other of the four was not received, as it arrived without credentials. There are also official records of aid given on several occasions to distressed Japanese seamen, the last dated 1193, and one of a case of murder, in which the Japanese are again spoken of as the Dwarfs.

We now come to the famous Mongol dynasty, with Kublai Khan upon the throne of China. This Emperor, beginning with the year 1264, sent several important embassies to Japan — always "Japan" — and received various envoys at the Chinese Court. In 1273, an envoy named Chao — the name is important — was ordered to proceed on a reconnoitring mission; and he, chiefly on the strength of the 狼勇嗜殺 "great bravery and love of slaughter" which prevailed in Japan, coupled with its distance and the perils of the sea, advised the Emperor to leave the Japanese severely alone. But Kublai Khan evidently wished to convert these islands into a Chinese province; and at length in 1280, when the Japanese had beheaded one of his envoys and other members of the mission, the order for punishment went forth. In 1281, the great Armada which had been dispatched for this purpose was totally destroyed by a storm, and of the 100,000 men who started on the expedition, "only one or two out of every ten got back to Korea."

Other expeditions were set on foot, but all ended in talk and paper plaus. Vengeance was never taken; and by 1368, the Mongols had given place to the Mings, a dynasty of pure Chinese blood. Only a year later, we find the "Dwarfs" committing acts of piracy

in Chinese waters; and in 1370 an envoy, unfortunately named Chao, was sent from China to call the recreant vassals to their allegiance. He was received by the Japanese King, who, after listening to the envoy's strictures, replied as follows: —

My country, although lying far off in the direction of Fu-sang (which has been identified by some with Mexico), has always been desirous of the civilisation of China, and ready to pay tribute. The Mongols, however, regarding us as a small nation, sent an envoy, named Chao, to humbug us with fair words, while in reality he was spying out our country. Afterwards they sent a huge fleet of ships to subdue our country; that fleet was destroyed by a storm, and since then there has been no intercourse between us. Now that you have got a new Son of Heaven, he sends us another Chao. Is not this an attempt to play us the same trick that the Mongols played? The King then bade his attendants put the envoy to death; at which Chao did not flinch, but quietly said ....

Here follows a long and bold speech, in which he extolled the virtues of the Chinese Emperor, and by which he finally convinced the King, who forthwith dispatched an envoy with tribute and apologies and promises for the future.

Still piracy went on, punctuated by embassies with tribute, until in 1381 the Dwarfs, usually so-called under this dynasty, sent an envoy who bullied the Emperor to his face, and protested against the literal interpretation of 天下 "all under heaven" as commensurate with Chinese sovereignty. "I live afar off," he said, "in the small and weakly Kingdom of Dwarfs;" but he went on to show that his countrymen were ready to die for their fatherland; and the Emperor, "with the cart-rut of the Mongols before his eyes, decided not to make war."

Skill in the Chinese written language often commended these Japanese envoys to the high officials of the Chinese Court, and several poems are extant, addressed by the latter to the former,

wishing them *bon voyage* and a happy return to their own country. On one occasion, when the Emperor desired to make enquiries about the manners and customs of Japan, an envoy took a pen, and wrote down the following impromptu:

Our country, Sire, is much like yours;  
Our men are like your men of old;  
Our hats and coats we took from you,  
Rites too, and Music, so I'm told.  
In silver jars we store our wine;  
We cut our food with golden knives;  
And every year in early spring  
The peach and plum adorn our lives.

It may be remarked here that line 3, 衣冠唐制度 is important, as showing how what is often spoken of as the beautiful "native" dress of the Japanese, was borrowed from China under the T'ang dynasty.

In 1383, relations were broken off with Japan, and further tribute was prohibited, in consequence of the following episode. A traitor statesman, who held the reins of power, and had his eye on the throne, had secretly sent a bogus mission to Japan, and had borrowed four hundred skilled swordsmen. These came as escort to a Buddhist priest, who was 獻巨燭中藏火藥 to offer in tribute a huge candle which had been filled with powder; in fact, there were all the materials of a Gunpowder Plot, which was discovered in time, the prime mover himself being duly executed.

Then followed over two hundred years of piracies, alternating with submission and tribute-bearing embassies as heretofore. The provinces of Chekiang and Fuhkien suffered most of all from Japanese raids; but even the more distant region of Kuangtung did not escape, and the city of 昌化 Ch'ang-hua was sacked.

With the close of the 16th century came the conquest of Korea by the Japanese under Hideyoshi, a conquest they eventually found themselves unable to consolidate. Among other feats, they attacked the kingdom of Loochoo, which was tributary to China, and actually carried off its king; and to such an extent did they harass the coast of China, that one writer of this period likened the Japanese question to a prolonged attack of the itch, which had worried the empire for many centuries, and was still raging at the close of the Ming dynasty, during the first half of the 17th century. By one writer, the wholesome fear of the Japanese, under which his countrymen laboured, was ascribed to the superior swords and swordsmanship of the islanders.

The swords used by these Dwarfs are exquisite weapons, six feet in length, and **兩手兩刀** one for each hand, thus making a total length of twelve feet. Even if you succeed in parrying the blow of one sword, the other is quite enough to kill you infallibly. Thus the fear of the Japanese is really the fear of their swords.

The Japanese are said to **祇有鳥銃** have had only fowling-pieces, but curiously enough, their powder of the 16th century is said to have been **發速** highly explosive, and even noiseless, — **每發無聲人不及防** “every time a shot is fired, there is no sound, so that it is difficult to take precautions.”

It was under the Mongol and Ming dynasties that the Japanese established the school of art for which they are so justly renowned. Chinese artists were invited to Japan, and Japanese artists were sent to China, to study the masterpieces of living and dead painters. Originals and copies of Chinese pictures were carried back to Japan in scores; and thus it comes about that in Japan may still be seen the magnificent presentment of “Buddha entering Nirvāna,” by Wu Tao-tzū of the 8th century, whether original or copy it is difficult to say, but at any rate not to be found in China itself.

The novel in Japan is said to have been created by a woman, at a date (A. D. 1004) when the novel proper was still unknown to the Chinese. At a later date, however, the Japanese did not fail to translate many of the best, and some of the worst, works of Chinese novelists. The drama proper, on the other hand, does not seem to have been in existence in Japan until the 14th century, about a hundred years after its appearance in China; and a comparison of a Japanese *No* with an ordinary Chinese play, leaves very little doubt as to the source from which the former was derived. So, too, such forms of literature as the *Makura Zōshi*, or "Pillow Sketches," and the *Zuihitsu*, or "Following the Pen," are obviously borrowed from the pre-existing Chinese *枕談* *Chén T'an* and *隨筆* *Sui Pi*, respectively. In like manner, the vast accumulation of Chinese proverbial literature has been freely drawn upon by the Japanese, and many recent European writers on Japanese affairs have introduced as the produce of Dai Nippon proverbs and sayings which had crystallised centuries before on the banks of the Hoang Ho or of the Yangtsze Kiang.

But the greatest compliment of all — the greatest, in fact, ever offered by one nation to another — was paid by Japan to China when the former openly adopted the moral code of Confucianism, still, after so many centuries, the very life's blood and bond of union of the Chinese people. That lofty code — not so lofty as to be beyond the reach of struggling humanity — had long been known to the Japanese; and the brilliant interpretation of it by eminent Chinese scholars of the 11th and 12th centuries had made an indelible impression upon their minds. From the beginning of the 17th century, the Japanese decided to do what the Chinese as a nation, from sheer weakness of flesh, have never succeeded in doing. They decided to put the precepts of Confucius into practice.

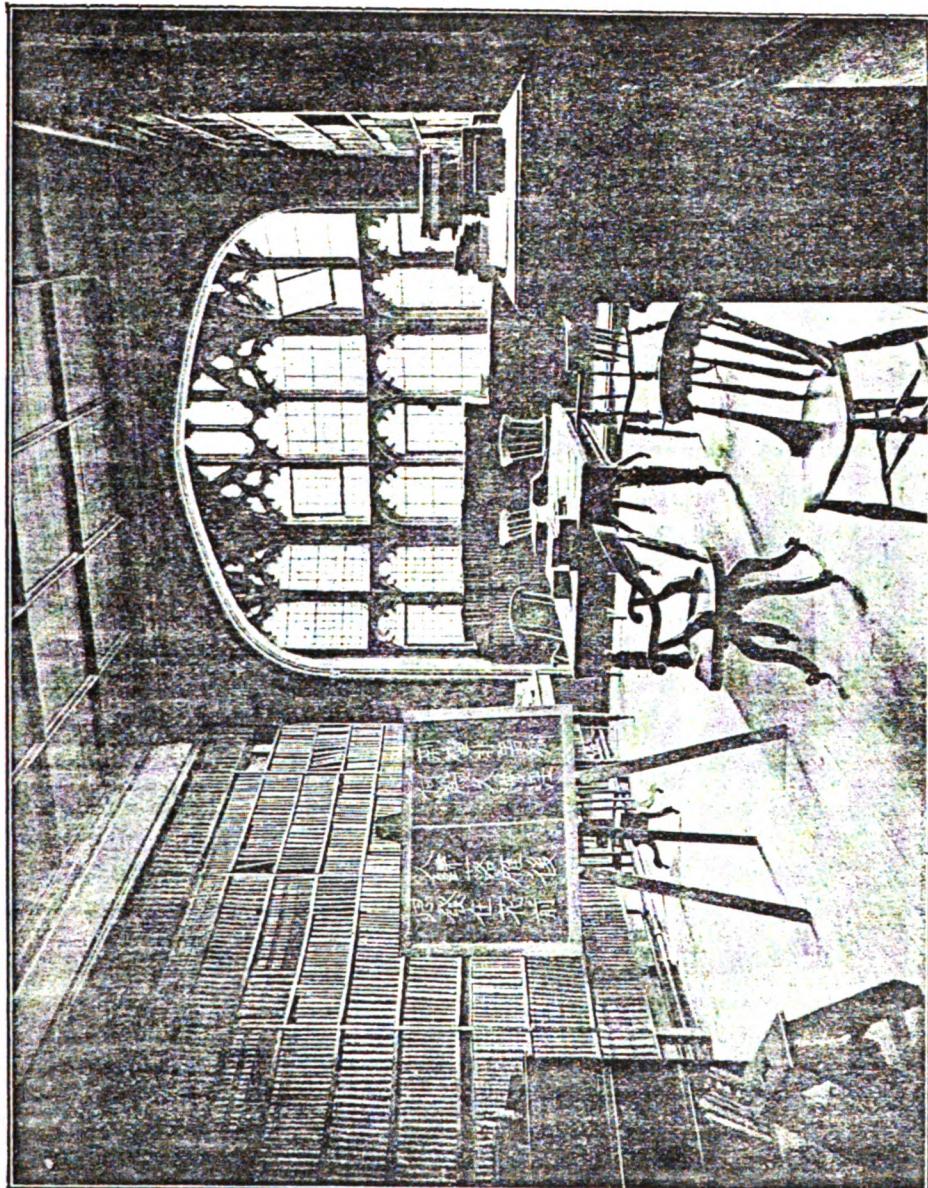
And they forthwith proceeded to do so, and kept this up for nearly three centuries, with that determination which is now a household word in Europe, until Western influences broke in upon their story, and diverted their energies into other channels. Loyalty to king and country, duty towards one's neighbour in all its ramifying applications, including of course justice and truth; in fact, such virtues as most commend themselves to European minds, — these were steadily practised by the Japanese people in such a way as to put to shame the original possessors of the great heritage. It is beyond question that to the precepts and faithful practice of Confucianism must be attributed the high moral elevation of the Japanese people; an elevation which has enabled them to take an honourable place among the great nations of the world. For bound up indissolubly with Confucianism is Ancestor-worship; and this is what some recent writers have to say on the subject: —

"The ancestor-worship of the Japanese is no superstition: it is the great essential fact of their lives" (O. K. Davis in the *Century Illustrated Magazine*, November, 1904). He further quotes a native writer who says, "Herein lies the philosophy of our patriotism." Lafcadio Hearn says it is "that which especially directs national life, and shapes national character. Patriotism belongs to it. Loyalty is based on it. The soldier who, to make a path for his comrades through the battle, deliberately flings away his life, obeys the will and hears the approval of invisible witnesses." That being the case, it would seem that so far from backing up missionaries who are imploring the Chinese to get rid of ancestral worship, the sooner we establish it in this country the better for our own interests. This, then, is the real debt which the Japanese owe to China, which by the way the Japanese themselves fully recognise, and of which this paper is in no way intended as a reminder. Neither is

it levelled at those writers on Japan whose works are most worth reading, for in their books will be found full and free acknowledgments of the many obligations of the younger to the older empire. "What Greece and Rome have been to Europe," says Mr. W. G. Aston, "China has been to the nations of the Far East. Japan, in particular, is very deeply indebted to it." "Religion, philosophy, laws, administration, written characters, arts, science, everything," says Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, "was imported from the neighbouring continent." It is rather intended as a rough guide for those whose studies lie in other directions, and for some who write loosely on Japanese questions. To such persons may be quoted, without impertinence, one of China's countless sayings: 飲水思源 "When you drink of the water, think of the spring."

## THE CHINESE LIBRARY AT CAMBRIDGE

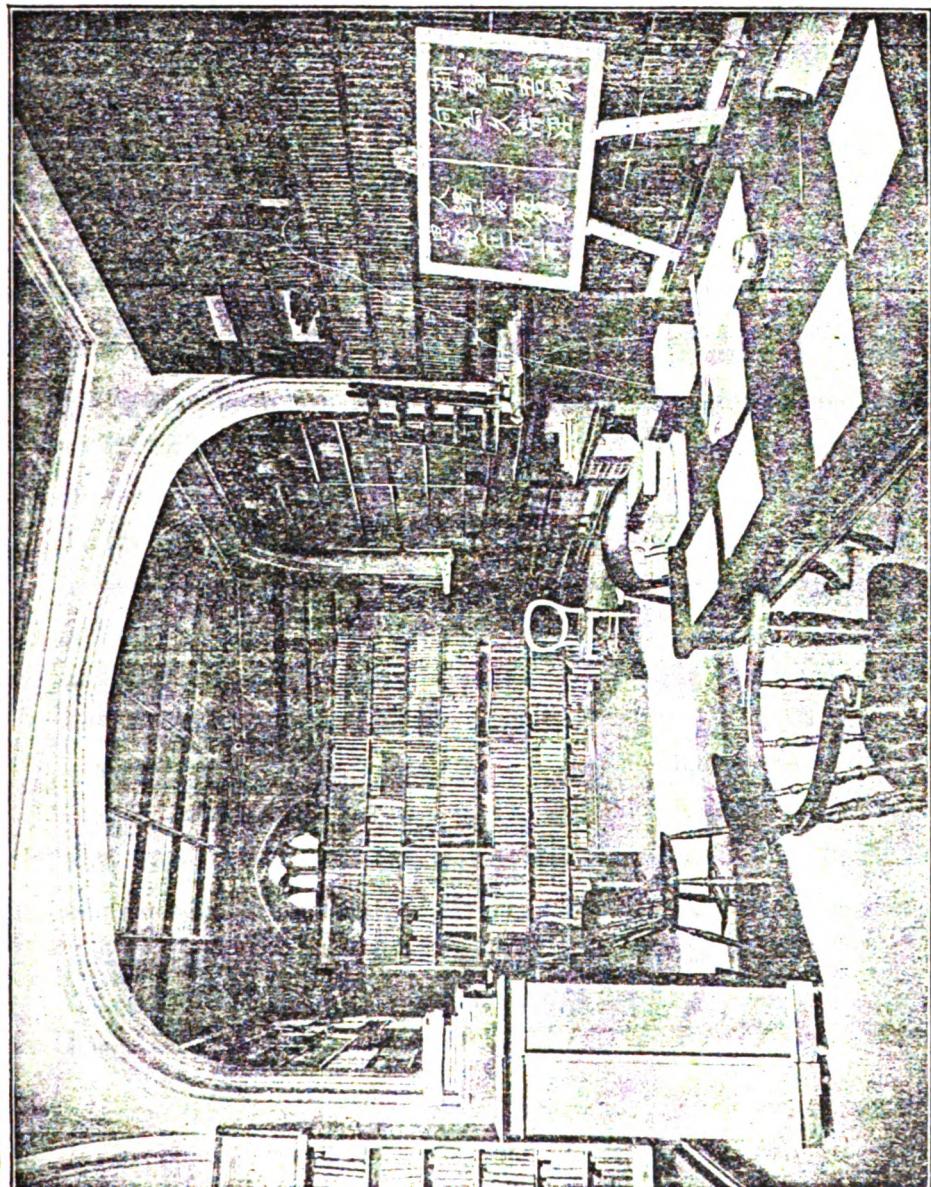
The above department of the University Library, already known to contain the finest collection of Chinese books to be found outside the empire of China, has recently been enriched by the acquisition of some 60 new works, running to over 1200 volumes in all. These were purchased out of a fund raised by appeal to a few generous donors; they fill up several existing gaps, and add very materially to the completeness and value of the original stock. For instance, the Library already possessed the 全唐詩 *Ch'üan t'ang shih*, a collection of the poetry of the T'ang dynasty (A. D. 618—905), amounting to no fewer than 48,900 pieces, — according to Wylie; I have not counted them. To this has now been added its sister work, the 全唐文 *Ch'üan t'ang wén*, a complete collection of the prose literature of the T'ang dynasty, filling 401 volumes. Again, Wylie gives a list of 13 叢書 *Ts'ung shu*, Collections of Reprints, an extremely important section of Chinese literature, by means of which many interesting works which might otherwise have perished, have been embalmed and preserved for future ages. Of these 13 Collections, the Library already possessed 5, together with 5 others not mentioned by Wylie; now, 2 more have been added, namely, the 宜稼堂 *I chia t'ang*, and the 功順堂 *Kung shun t'ang*, bringing the total up to 12 in all. To the numerous extensive and rare encyclopaedias in the Cambridge Library, of which latter class the 太平廣記 *Tai p'ing kuang chi* (edition of 1566) is an example, there has been added a copy



of the 玉海 *Yü hai* (ed. 1806) in 120 volumes, which is now a scarce book. Among the rest, there is an edition of 列子 *Lieh Tzü*, labelled "of the Sung dynasty," in which some enthusiastic owner has written a note, winding up with the following words: —

"The delicate colour of the paper arrests the eye, while the ink has the fragrant odour of antiquity, neither of which attributes would be present if the book were not of the Sung period (A. D. 960—1260)." In spite of this declaration, which cannot be wholly disregarded, the book seems to me to be an edition of the late 14th or early 15th centuries.

No bush, however, is needed for another item of the new acquisitions, namely, 杜工部詩文集 *Tu kung pu shih wén chi*, a collection of the poetical and prose writings, with commentaries, of the famous poet Tu Fu (A. D. 712—770). It consists of 24 volumes, printed in large type on paper which may once have been of a yellowish white, but is now of a deep, almost chocolate, brown. In size, it is no less than 30 cent., with fine "heaven and earth" margins at top and bottom, being evidently an *édition de luxe*. The last preface is dated A. D. 1204; and after careful examination I have come to the conclusion that this was the actual date of publication. Next in importance, from the point of view of old books, must be placed a fine edition of the 貞觀政要 *Chéng kuan chéng yao*, a treatise on the principles of government, which bears date 1465. The 白氏長慶集 *Po shih ch'ang-kiing chi*, works of the poet Po Chü-i, dates from 1606; and there are also books dated 1631, 1657, and 1670, besides eight or ten of the 18th century. The strong point of the Cambridge Library lies in the possession of old and rare editions, many of which, such as the 異域圖志, an illustrated work of the 14th century, are at the present day absolutely beyond the reach of the collector, no matter how unlimited the funds with which he may be supplied. Its weak point is perhaps to be found in the absence of common everyday works, so easily to be procured in China. Until quite recently there was no copy of the 百家姓 *Po chia hsing*, Family Surnames of the Chinese! If any person who may read these lines



should happen to possess Chinese books of any description, for which they have no use, and of which they would possibly be glad to be rid, I should like to add that there is a comfortable home awaiting all such donations at the Cambridge University Library, where the books would stand for ever against the names of the donors, whose bounty would be duly acknowledged. The photographs of the beautiful room in which such gifts would be stored, were taken by Mr. W. F. Dunn of the University Library, shortly after the visit (24 May, 1906) of H. I. H. Duke Tsai Tsê, for whose edification the verses on the black-board were written. Non-Chinese scholars may like to know what they mean.

*Left.* — If home, with the wild geese of autumn we're going,  
Our hearts will be off ere the spring flowers are blowing.

*Right.* — A lovely land..... I could not bear,  
If not mine own, to linger there.

## TEXTUAL CRITICISM

*Viperina est expositio quae corrodit viscera textus*

[The following point was raised informally at the recent  
Oriental Congress, Copenhagen.]

If a paragraph in the Chinese Classics cannot be made, even with the help of many native commentators, to yield sense, the resources of a translator are not necessarily exhausted. He may set aside all previous interpretations and substitute one of his own, as was done in the case of the 色難 crux (see *ante*, p. 20). Or he may have recourse to the more dangerous expedient of textual emendation; but this is only to be tolerated when everything else has failed; and further, the recognised conditions of sound emendation, as applied to the Greek and Roman classics, should always be stringently observed. If any one wants to see a tragic illustration of this danger, he has only to turn to the *China Review*, vol. XXIV, p. 157, where it will be found that Professor Parker identified 水忽 *Shu-hu* = the Jews, with the Magi, on the rashly-conceived ground that the first character was "clearly a misprint for 木 *mu*!"

Chapter 39 of Book XIV of the 論語 Confucian Analects runs thus: —

子	曰	辟	世
賢	者	辟	地
其	次	辟	色
其	次	辟	言
其	次	辟	

This has been translated as follows: —

The Master said,  
Some men of worth retire from the world.  
Some retire from *particular* countries.  
Some retire because of *disrespectful* looks.  
Some retire because of *contradictory* language.

LEGGE.

Philosophus ait: sapientes fugiunt saeculum;  
alii vero fugiunt patriam;  
alii autem fugiunt tractandi speciem;  
alii demum fugiunt loquendi modum. [Quatuor se subdu-  
cendi ordines, non vero quatuor sapientum gradus.]

ZOTTOLI.

Le Maître dit: Parmi les sages,  
plusieurs vivent retirés du monde,  
les uns, à cause de la corruption  
des moeurs; les autres, d'une vertu  
moins parfaite, à cause des troubles  
de leur pays; d'autres, encore moins  
parfaits, à cause du manque  
d'urbanité; d'autres, d'une vertu  
encore inférieure, à cause du  
désaccord dans les opinions.

COUVREUR.

Confucius remarked on one occasion:  
Men of real moral worth now retire  
from the world altogether. Some of less  
degree of worth avoid or retire from  
certain countries. Some of still less  
degree of worth retire as soon as they  
are looked upon with disfavour. Some  
of the least degree of moral worth  
retire when they are told to do so.

KU HUNG-MING.

To my eye there is a unanimity of in consequence about all the  
above renderings which suggests at once the inference that either

these translators have failed to seize the meaning, or that there is something wrong with the text which prevents the meaning from being clear. The four sentences obviously form an inverted climax, even if, as the commentators advise, the 夫 in each case be ignored, as by Legge, and consequently by Zottoli, whose translations of the Chinese Classics are in reality no more than Latin renderings of Legge's previous labours. This climax is of course broken at the third clause. We pass from "the world" to "one's country" in the descending scale, only to be brought up with a round turn by "looks" and "language," to which Legge has to supply "because of disrespectful" and "because of contradictory" in order to make any sense at all.

The versions of Couvreur and Ku Hung-ming are well-padded paraphrases, running to no fewer than 54 and 61 words, respectively, as against 28 of Legge and 19 of Zottoli, to represent 18 words of Chinese text. Couvreur has seen the difficulty of the climax, and has made a passable attempt to get out of it. Ku Hung-ming keeps the climax as regards 夫 the men who retire, but ignores it as to what they retire from. But why should it involve a lower degree of worth to retire "as soon as one is looked upon with disfavour," than to retire "from certain countries?" This is not clear, even in paraphrase.

Dr. Legge undoubtedly did the best he could with the text as it stands, one proof of which is that Zottoli followed his lead; but in spite of the admirable maxim which stands at the head of this note, it is one thing to be cautious, and another to be hidebound. After all, textual criticism may be invoked sometimes, provided the case be urgent. People generally believed that Shakespeare wrote

The cat shall mew, and dog shall have his day  
and the last half of the line has long been a familiar saying. No

one felt that there was anything amiss with the text, and a cold reception was given to the suggestion that "day" was a misreading for "bay." It is however quite another thing when the conditions of sound textual emendation are duly observed. For instance, there is a passage in Juvenal, Sat. VIII, kindly suggested by the eminent classical scholar Dr. Verrall, where Romans of distinction are ridiculed for unnecessarily indulging in menial occupations. According to the old text, we read of one Damasippus, who, as his name implies, was devoted to horsemanship,

Ipse rotam stringit multo sufflamine Consul  
literally,

He himself, a Consul, presses the wheel with much brake.

"With much brake," was explained by the scholiast as "frequently putting on the brake;" and so we might still be trying to understand it, but for the simple emendation of *mulio* a mule-driver for *multo* much. The line now reads

Ipse rotam stringit sufflamine mulio Consul  
the wretched man who wrote *multo* for *mulio* being obliged to transpose the words to make the line scan. We now have a thoroughly intelligible gibe, —

He himself, a Consul, puts on the brake like a mule-driver.

An even more brilliant example is to be found in Eurip. *Medea* 1015, where a slave, reassuring Medea under sentence of exile, says, according to the old reading,

θάρσει· κρατεῖς τοι καὶ σὺ πρὸς τέκνων ἔτι

This line yielded no sense at all, until the masterly change, by Porson, of *κρατεῖς* into *κάτει*, gave both the tense and the sense required: —

Be of good cheer; you will be restored (from exile) by your children some day.

The above examples, however, are mere child's-play when compared with the emendations of a famous passage in *Henry the Fifth*, wherein Mrs Pistol is describing the death of Falstaff. The text originally ran thus: —

For his noise was as sharp as a wren in a treble of Green Sleeves.

A later stage was

For his nose was as sharp as a pen on a table of green freese.

“Fields” had already been conjectured for “sleeves;” and finally Theobald came along with his immortal emendation,

For his nose was as sharp as a pen, and a' babbled of green fields.

With regard to the present passage, let us imagine, by way of hypothesis, some such inverted climax as *world, country, district, village*. (1) Can 色 *looks* be turned without violence into *district* or *town*? — Not only can this be done by an almost infinitesimal variation of the character, viz. 邑, but also it is not unusual to find the former misprinted for the latter. (2) Can 言 *words* be turned without violence into *village*? — The reader has only to refer to the 說文 *Shuo wen* (s. vv.), and to other palaeographic dictionaries, to see that in the ancient script 皀 *riverine village* might quite possibly be confused with 言 *words*; apart from which, the mere accidental substitution of 色 for 邑 would easily lead to the corresponding substitution of 言 for 皀. It is now possible to translate intelligibly, without having to read anything into the text, or having to jettison the gradations which are almost invariably attached to 夫: —

The Master said,  
Perfectly virtuous men retire from the world;  
The next (in virtue), from their country;  
The next, from their district;  
The next, from their village.

Meaning that whereas it requires a man of perfect virtue to give up the world altogether, and one with only a lesser degree of virtue to face the ordeal of retirement from his country or native State, — it was the Feudal Age, — a man endowed with even a moderate equipment of virtue can leave his district, and still more easily his village, for some neighbouring residence, when circumstances make it desirable that he should do so.

## ART THOU THE CHRIST?

[Continued from p. 44.]

If Professor Parker fancies that, by the publication of his note on "The Nestorians Once More" in the *T'oung-pao* for 1907, p. 687, I can be moved into any frame of mind, save one of almost complete satisfaction with my own original view as to the meaning of the picture on p. 27 *ante*, the following remarks may aid in dispossessing his mind of such a wholly erroneous conclusion. Professor Parker drags into the fray a nonagenarian sinologue, long since *rude donatus*, and strives to take shelter behind the latter's now feebly-raised aegis. I will avoid, to the utmost, acting on the offensive towards the old champion; but it is absolutely necessary, in self-defence, to make one or two remarks on Père Hoang's note in general, and on Professor Parker's translation in particular. Of course, to begin with, Professor Parker mistranslates. I don't think I ever saw any translation of his which did not contain some howlers. He does not give us the benefit of Père Hoang's original letter in Chinese; but the latter mentions the six divisions of the 方氏墨譜 *Fang shih mo p'u*, the characters for which being known, I have attached Professor Parker's renderings on one side, and the correct renderings on the other.

<i>Parker</i>	<i>Correct rendering</i>
Government Seals 國寶	National Emblems
National Beauties 國華	National Illustrations

## Parker

## Correct rendering

Ancient Curiosities	博 古	Antiquarian Researches
Remarkable Objects	博 物	Researches into General Objects
	Fah-pao	Buddhist Emblems
	Hung-pao	Taoist Emblems

The fact is that the above headings are somewhat loosely adhered to, — *e. g.*, the **十二章** are given in § 1 and the **九章** in § 2; and it is extremely difficult to draw a hard and fast line between Nos. 1 and 2, and 3 and 4. But it may safely be said that there are very few "Government Seals" in No. 1, and not a single "National Beauty" in No. 2; also that 博 cannot mean either "curiosity" or "remarkable;" and that *fah-pao* and *hung-pao* are mere transliterations, with no sense at all for the general reader, nor even for the Chinese scholar, unless the characters are supplied. These mistranslations, however, do not bear upon the question at issue, which Père Hoang delightfully begs in clause 4 of his note. That question is, who are the individuals depicted in the woodcut reproduced on p. 27 *ante*? The suggestion that they are Buddha, Lao Tzü, and Confucius, is based on mere guess-work, and apparently a bad guess at that, for two of the figures who belong to identically the same form of civilisation, are apparently doing homage to the third, who is altogether a being of a different cast. Would the Chinese people ever have tolerated a picture showing Confucius — Lao Tzü may be ignored — in an attitude of reverence to Buddha? My contention that they are Christ and two Nestorian priests, is based partly on the reason just given why they cannot be Buddha, Lao Tzü, and Confucius; partly on the fact that the Chinese editor never even suggests such an explanation, but deals with the picture as a mystery; partly on the fact that the Nestorians were contemporary in China with the famous painter 閻立德 *Yen Li-tê*,

who was especially noted for his pictures "of the people of strange countries, and of such-like weird and uncanny subjects," and whose still more famous brother, 閻立本 Yen Li-pêñ, actually furnishes another picture to the same volume from which this is taken; partly that the picture is not inserted under either the Buddhist or Taoist sections, nor (if Confucius) under "National Illustrations," but under "Antiquarian Researches;" and partly on the remarkable legend which accompanies the picture, namely 圓三爲一. This means literally, "Contain three be one," *i. e.* "Three in One." As I take it, the subject of 圓 "contain" is the central, *i. e.* chief, figure of the picture; and the full meaning is, "[This man] contains Three, being One," — in plain language, the Trinity. It is idle to point out, especially as I did so myself (pp. 37, 38 *ante*), that the phrase "three in one" has already been used in Chinese literature in an astronomical connection; because it by no means follows that here the phrase must now necessarily mean Buddha, Lao Tzû, and Confucius. That it cannot mean these said three, can be gathered from the recognised pictures of the trio, one of which Professor Parker reproduces in the *T'oung-pao*, as though to show how groundless his contention is — *ipsae periere ruinae!* The whole question may be summed up as follows: —

1. — In a book of woodcuts, ancient and modern, published in 1588, there is a picture of three figures. See p. 27, *ante*.
2. — One of these is aloof, and faces the spectator; he is young-looking, and evidently the centre of attraction. The other two are old, and similar in appearance to one another, but unlike the third. They are addressing themselves to the third, and their faces are turned towards him. One of these two is standing behind. It is not quite clear what he is doing with his arms, but he seems to be exhibiting an open document. The other, who clearly shows the tonsure, is kneeling, and holding up the left hand (as it comes

out in the woodcut) with two fingers raised and two fingers bent down, as in the Apostolic benediction, while in the right hand he carries a closed scroll. [Toes have been added to the kneeling figure, to make him look as if he was standing, having been mistaken no doubt for Confucius kneeling to Buddha. This reduces him to the size of a dwarf, as compared with the figure behind him.]

3. — The attitude and general expression of the two figures towards the third is one of humble reverence.

4. — A legend, attached to the picture, says, "Contains Three, being One."

5. — Professor Parker (*alias* Père Hoang) says the figures are Buddha, Lao Tzū, and Confucius. The editor of the book mentions the picture specially as one of the marvels of the collection. Would he do that if the motive was well-known and commonplace?

6. — The real crux is, as I have said over and over again (p. 38, *ante*), what can be the subject of ~~三~~ "contain," if not the central figure? Neither Professor Hirth, nor Professor Parker, nor Mr. Laufer, venture to answer this. And until that is cleared up, I shall continue to hold fast to the only, to me, intelligible solution which the Manchester Professor denounces so roundly, speaking with the voice of Parker, but with the wit of Père Hoang.

## THE MARINER'S COMPASS

[Continued from p. 107.]

When I wrote the short note on "The Mariner's Compass," with reference to its first introduction by the Chinese (*Adversaria Sinica*, p. 106), I had not read the 輿服志 chapter on Chariots in the History of the Sung dynasty. If I had done so, — and nobody else ever seems to have done so, — the result would have been very different. Much time and unnecessary labour would have been spared, and a bubble, which has exercised a strange fascination over foreign students for a century past, would have been pricked beyond redemption. This is what I find in the chapter above-mentioned: —

In A. D. 1027, 燕肅 Yen Su of the Board of Works succeeded in constructing a "South-pointing chariot." He memorialised the Throne as follows: — When the Yellow Emperor (B. C. 2698—2598) fought at 涿鹿 Cho-lu against the rebel 嵩尤 Ch'ih Yu, the latter raised a great mist, so that the soldiers did not know which way they were going; in consequence of which the Emperor made south-pointing chariots. In the days of King 成 Ch'êng of the Chou dynasty (B. C. 1115—1078), when an embassy from the 越裳 Yüeh-shang nation, accompanied by interpreters, came with tribute, the envoy being afraid that he would not find his way back, 周公 Chou Kung gave him a two-horse chariot which would point south. After that, the method was lost. The next to make these chariots were 張衡 Chang Hêng of the Han dynasty, and 馬鈞 Ma Chün of the Wei dynasty; but in the troublous times which followed for several generations, their machines disappeared. When the Emperor Wu Ti (A. D. 420—423) of the Sung dynasty had pacified 長安 Ch'ang-an, he tried to produce such a chariot, but without much success. 祖沖之 Tsu Ch'ung-chih also made one. Later on, the

Emperor Wu Ti (A. D. 424—452) of the Wei dynasty ordered 郭善明 Kuo Shan-ming to make one; but he tried in vain for a whole year. Then the Imperial command was transferred to 馬岳 Ma Yo of 扶風 Fu-feng; and the latter being on the point of succeeding, Kuo committed suicide by poison. The method was then lost.

In the middle of the 元和 Yüan-ho period (A. D. 806—821), an official named 金公立 (or 亮) Chin Kung-li (or liang) laid before the Emperor a south-pointing chariot and a measure-mile-drum chariot, which his Majesty inspected in the 麟德 Lin-tè pavilion, and kept as models. However, throughout the Five Dynasties, and down to the present time, there has been no one to construct such vehicles; these therefore may be regarded as original inventions. The method is as follows:—

A chariot with a single pole (*i. e.*, for two horses). Above the body of the chariot is fitted a double roof, and above that is the wooden figure of an Immortal (or angel) stretching out an arm which points south.

There are—

9 great and small wheels; 120 cogs.

2 foot-wheels; 6 feet high, 18 feet circumference.

2 vertical 子 child = small or subordinate wheels attached to the above; 2.4 feet in diameter, 7.2 feet in circumference, 24 cogs to each wheel, cogs 3 inches apart.

2 small vertical wheels at end of pole, below transverse wood; 3 inches in diameter, with an iron rod piercing them.

1 small horizontal wheel on the left; 1.2 feet in diameter, 12 cogs.

1 small horizontal wheel on the right; ditto, ditto.

1 large horizontal wheel in the middle; 4.8 feet in diameter, 14.4 feet in circumference, 48 cogs, cogs 3 inches apart.

1 rod through the middle; 8 feet high, 3 inches in diameter.

On the top of this is carved a wooden figure, which, when the cart is in motion, points to the south. If you turn to the east (when going south), the child-wheel attached to the foot-wheel on the right of the pole will turn round 12 cogs, and the small horizontal wheel attached on the right will turn once and cause the middle large horizontal wheel to turn round one quarter or 12 cogs, so that if the cart goes east, the wooden man will be interlocked, and point south. The same thing will happen going north, east, or west.

I here annex a communication from Professor Hopkinson on the subject, written after careful examination of the foregoing details:—

Dear Professor Giles,

I find after consideration of the details of the "compass chariot" that it is rather difficult to reconstruct from the description. The difficulty is the absence of any mechanism for throwing the wheels which are driven by the chariot-wheels into gear with the large horizontal wheel, carrying the figure. Some such mechanism would appear to be necessary, and it would have to come into action when the chariot is turned and at no other time; for, if the chariot wheels were always interlocked with the horizontal wheel, it would not be possible for them to turn round. The words: "so that if the cart goes east the wooden man will be interlocked and point south" look as though some such mechanism were contemplated; but none of the wheels described, so far as I can see, could perform this function. The only possibility is that the two small wheels (*A* on copy herewith) are made to serve this purpose. There is nothing in the description of these to indicate how they fit into the scheme, so that it is possible that they serve the purpose of the interlocking mechanism, though one cannot say in what manner.

As regards these two small vertical wheels, I take it from the description that they are somehow supported beneath the body of the chariot, and that by the words "end of pole" is meant the end where the pole is joined to the axle, and not, as at first sight might be supposed, the vertical or free end.

Is there any detailed description of the ordinary chariot of this period? It might be of considerable assistance in unravelling the mystery of the "compass chariot." Among other points, it would be necessary (assuming the existence of some interlocking mechanism) that there should be a definite ratio between the diameter of the foot-wheels and their distance apart, in order that the thing might work in the manner described. I do not know whether there is any evidence that some such relation was usual. The only thing in the description which suggests in the remotest degree that the principle of the mariners' compass was employed, is the fact that "an iron rod" is mentioned as connecting together the small vertical wheels at the end of pole. Having regard to the general vagueness of the description, it is just conceivable that this iron rod may have, in some way, operated as a compass needle. Such a suggestion, however, seems extremely improbable, because if the whole operation depended upon the motion of this iron rod one would expect that there would have been some indication of its importance. Moreover, there is sufficient reason for the use of iron in this position, in that the rod connects two small wheels — for which a wooden connection would not be suitable.

Yours very truly,  
B. HOPKINSON.

It appears therefore that the Chinese themselves have never laid any claim whatever to the invention of the compass, which has been so steadily forced upon them by foreigners that at last they have come to regard it as a fact beyond dispute. Their "south-pointing chariot," which foreigners have too readily regarded as a vehicle directed by a compass, now turns out, as described by sober Chinese historians, to be nothing more than a mechanical carriage, its mechanism involving an arrangement of wheels which, as described above, cannot be made to work. The Chinese have so much to be proud of in their long history and ancient civilisation that it seems a pity to weaken just and indisputable rights by reckless and unwarrantable claims. Their most distinguished writers in the past have always associated scholarship with a high standard of accuracy and truth, and it is greatly to be hoped that the present and coming generations will hand on the glowing torch undimmed.

## THE "TAXICAB" IN CHINA

There was a report in some recent newspapers, kindly brought to my notice by Mr. Byron Brenan, that our modern taxicab had been known to the Chinese so far back as the 11th century; but being written, as is everything connected with China, in a serio-comic vein, this statement failed to secure more than a passing smile, which the very name of the vehicle, *giligulicha* (*sic*) helped materially to broaden into a grin. Let us substitute facts for fun.

In the History of the Chiu Dynasty (A. D. 265—419), which was compiled under the direction of 房玄齡 Fang Hsüan-ling, and published about A. D. 635, we read as follows:

(輿服志)記里鼓車駕四  
形制如司南其中有木  
人執槌向鼓行一里則  
打一槌

The *chi li ku chü* (measure mile drum carriage) is drawn by four horses. Its shape is like that of the south-pointing chariot (see *ante*, p. 114). In the middle of it there is a wooden figure of a man holding a drumstick towards a drum. At the completion of every *li*, the man strikes a blow on the drum.

In the History of the T'ang Dynasty (A. D. 618—906), under the year 815, it is recorded that the Emperor Hsien Tsung

閱新作指南記里鼓車

inspected the newly-made south pointing chariot and the measure mile drum carriage.

Under the year 820, we learn that these vehicles 修成 had been duly prepared for use.

There is a 賦 *fu* by an anonymous writer of the T'ang dynasty, having for its subject the 大章車 *ta chang chü*, which we are told was another name for the *chi li ku chü* or taxicab. The poem is nothing more than a eulogy of the clever invention; it tells us nothing as to the construction of the vehicle.

Under the year A. D. 987, when the Emperor T'ai Tsung of the Sung dynasty was on the throne, we hear again of taxicabs, which are described as follows:

赤	質	四	面	畫	花	鳥	重
臺	勾	闌	鏤	拱	行	一	里
則	上	層	木	人	擊	鼓	十
里	則	次	層	木	人	擊	鐸
一	轂	鳳	首	駕	馬	馬	駕
士	舊	十	八	人	太	宗	雍
熙	年	增	人	爲	三	十	人

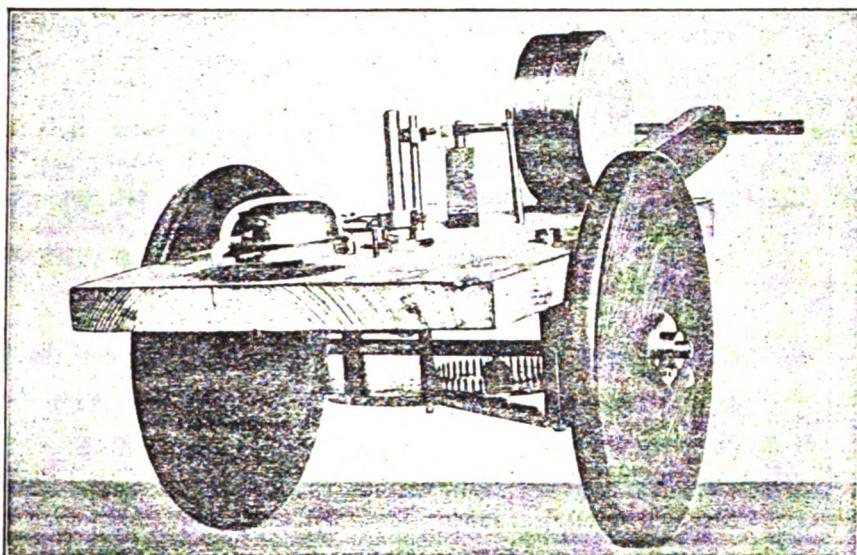
They are painted red, with pictures of flowers and birds on the four sides, and in two storeys, handsomely adorned with carvings. At the completion of every *li*, the wooden figure of a man in the lower storey strikes a drum; and at the completion of every 10 *li*, a man in the upper storey strikes a bell. There is a pole with a phoenix-head end, and a team of four horses. Formerly, the chariot held eighteen soldiers, which number was increased, in 987, by the Emperor T'ai Tsung, to thirty.

Under the year A. D. 1027, in the 本紀 biography of the Emperor Jen Tsung, the taxicab is again mentioned, and an account of its mechanism is actually given, as follows: —

#### MEASURE-MILE-DRUM-CHARIOT.

It has a single pole and two wheels. On the body of the chariot are two storeys, each containing a carved wooden figure of a man, holding a drum-stick. The 足輪 foot-wheels are each 6 feet in diameter and 18 feet

in circumference; and one revolution of these covers 3 paces, according to ancient measurement, being equal to 6 feet, and 300 paces to a *li*, which is now reckoned at 360 paces of 5 feet each. A 立輪 vertical wheel is attached to the left foot; it has a diameter of 1.38 feet with a circumference of 4.14 feet, and has 18 cogs which are 2.3 inches apart. There is a 下平輪 lower horizontal wheel, with a diameter of 4.14 feet, and a



circumference of 12.42 feet; it has 54 cogs, the same distance apart as those of the vertical wheel (2.3 inches). There is a vertical axle which passes through the middle, and on this is fixed a copper 旋風輪 turn-wind wheel with 3 cogs, the distance between these cogs being 1.2 inches. In the middle is a horizontal wheel, 4 feet in diameter and 12 feet in circumference, having 100 cogs, the distance between these cogs being the same as on the turn-wind wheel (1.2 inches).

Next, there is fixed on a 小平輪 small horizontal wheel, about 3.3 inches in diameter and 1 foot in circumference, having 10 cogs 1.5 inches apart; also, an 上平輪 upper horizontal wheel, having a diameter of about 3.3 feet, and a circumference of 10 feet, with 100 cogs, the same distance apart as those of the small horizontal wheel (1.5 inches). When the middle horizontal wheel has made one revolution, the chariot will have gone 1 *li*, and the wooden man in the lower storey will strike the drum. When the upper horizontal wheel has made one revolution, the chariot will have gone 10 *li*, and the wooden man in the upper storey will strike the bell. The

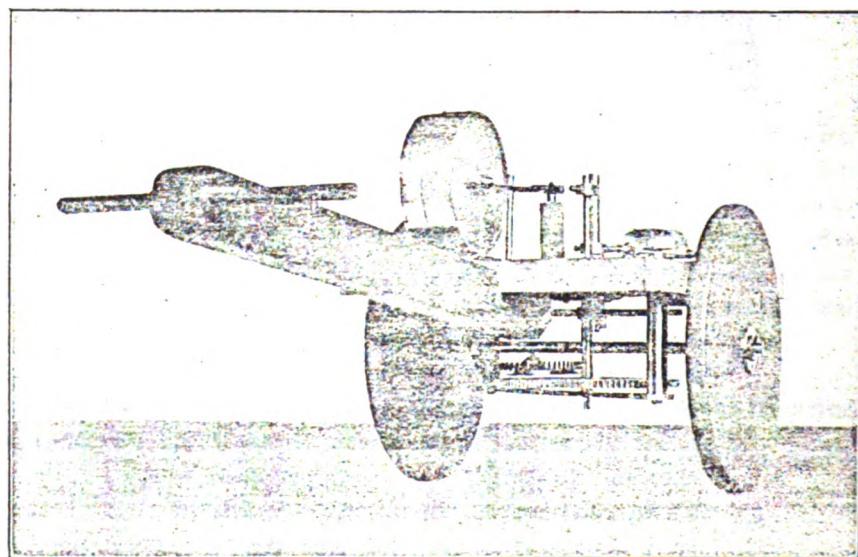
number of wheels used, great and small, is 8 in all, with a total of 285 cogs.

In the year 1107, the taxicab was again produced, and was used at the great ceremony of ancestral worship under the Emperor Hui Tsung. Its construction seems to have been very much the same as that described above. After this, we hear no more of the taxicab until nearly the middle of the 14th century, when the well-known writer, 楊維楨 Yang Wei-chêng, who graduated in 1327, wrote a short *fu* in praise of it. He speaks of the

### 列鼓鐸於上下各扣擊以司時

drum and bell arranged above and below, each of which is struck to record the time.

But whether the taxicab was actually in use under the Mongols, or has been at any later date, I am quite unable to say. What I



am able to do is to annex the following letter from Professor B. Hopkinson of Cambridge University, together with photographs of

the model he has constructed, which puts the question of the early invention of "taxicabs" by the Chinese beyond the shadow of a doubt.

I have read the account of the Chinese taxicab with much interest, and the mechanism is quite intelligible; excepting that in the last paragraph. I think that the two horizontal wheels should be on the same level and should mesh together. If my interpretation of the thing is correct, the word "upper," occurring near the end, is inappropriate; "*another horizontal wheel*" would be more correct from the mechanical point of view.

I am leaving Cambridge again to-day, but when I return I shall be very glad indeed to make you a sketch of the mechanism or to explain it to you to the best of my ability. If you think it would be of interest, it would not be difficult to make a small model of it in the Shops here.

#### NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

This model is not to scale as regards the diameters of all the wheels, but the numbers of the teeth are correct. The original chariot was probably constructed entirely of wood and the relative dimensions of the wheels proper to that material would be different from those which must be adopted when metal wheels are used. Each wheel in the model is marked with a reference letter corresponding to a similar reference letter in the translated description.

The description is perfectly clear and consistent and conveys to the reader the impression that it relates to a real thing which the Author had probably seen.

B. HOPKINSON.

### A FEAST: A. D. 1908.

"Some days ago the Socialists and unemployed of Sheffield threatened to make a demonstration at the Cutlers' feast as a protest against the dinner being held in face of the unemployment in the city."

*The Daily Telegraph*: 30 Nov., 1908.

### A FEAST: 9<sup>th</sup> CENT. A. D.

With haughty mien they fill the ways,  
And gorgeous gleam their saddle-trees;  
I ask, Who are they? Some one says,  
The Court officials these.

Scarlet-sashed Ministers are there;  
Red-tasselled Generals in crowds;  
Their minds are bent on sumptuous fare;  
Their steeds pass by like clouds.

Wine of the rarest brands they take;  
Rich meats are set before their eyes;  
Oranges from the Tung-t'ing lake,  
And fish from "Paradise."

Serenely full, their greed assuaged,  
Half-drunken, and still happier then....  
That year a cruel famine raged,  
And men were eating men.

*Po Chu-i*: A. D. 772—846.

## TRACES OF AVIATION IN ANCIENT CHINA

Why worry about inventing the aeroplane? The simplest course, surely, would be to examine the ancient records of China, which might be relied upon to prove that that wonderful land invented the thing long ago.

*Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 Jan., 1909.

At the annual dinner of the China Society, held on 27 May, 1909, Lord Li, Chinese Minister at the Court of St. James's, made the following remarks from the chair: —

China goes back a long way as a nation, and its literature enables us to reconstruct the picture as it existed in B. C. 2000. What may seem quite commonplace, as it lies at our feet in front of us, is invested with deep interest when our imagination views it in an atmosphere made dim by the lapse of centuries. For example, what a pleasing picture was presented to us recently by the Cambridge Professor, of a taxicab plying for hire in the capital of the Chou Kingdom twenty centuries ago! Everything new today seems to have had its counterpart in ancient China; and who knows but that before we meet again in this room next year, some rival Professor may have discovered that the aeroplane was much used by the same ingenious Chou people?

Considering how the conquest of the air has always appealed to the imagination of Western peoples from the days when Daedalus and Icarus escaped from prison on wings fashioned by the father, it would be strange indeed if the Chinese, through the long centuries of their advanced civilisation, had not in some sense or other entertained the idea of flying like birds. To begin with, there is the

record of the Bird Nation; one of those imaginary peoples of which Pliny gives us such an edifying list, unaccompanied however



by the illustrations with the aid of which the Chinese writer has always, from very early ages, sought to confirm the truth of his text.

On the other hand, the Chinese have never provided their 天使 angels with wings; arguing, perhaps, that the God who could endow with the power of flight, could also dispense with the necessity for wings. But before proceeding, I will call attention to a paragraph in a recent Chinese newspaper, to the effect that the Chinese authorities were thinking of inviting 美國 賴氏惠白 the American, Wilbur Wright, to visit China, with a view to establish a factory for the production of 飛行艦 *fei hsing hsien* "flying ships." I mention this to show (1) how simple a thing it is in the Chinese language to frame a passable equivalent of any new term that may be wanted; and also (2) how unnecessary it was in this case to do so, considering that a ready-made term, admirably suited either to air-ship or aeroplane, has been available for many centuries past. The evidence in support of this latter statement we may now proceed to consider.

The well-known commentator on the *Bamboo Books*, 沈約 Shên Yo, A.D. 441—513, in his note on the first Emperor of the Shang Dynasty, mentions that among the rulers of the eighteen hundred nations who collected, with their interpreters, to honour the accession of T'ang the Completer in B.C. 1766,

the *Chi-kung* (One-Armed) people came in a car. [Dr Legge, on p. 128 of the Prolegomena to vol. III. of his *Chinese Classics*, regards the first character as *chi*<sup>2</sup> "wonderful;" but we are expressly told that it is here to be read *chi*<sup>1</sup> "single."]

The 山海經 *Shan hai ching*, which some scholars consider to be older than the Chou Dynasty, 11th century B.C., tells us that

the country of the 奇肱 *Chi-kung* (肱 *kung* = upper arm) is to the north of the 一臂國 *I pei kuo* One-Armed (臂 *pei* = fore-arm) nation. The people have one arm and three eyes. They are hermaphrodites. They ride on

striped horses, and have birds with two heads, red and yellow in colour, alongside.

The 博物志 *Po wu chih*, which dates back to the 3rd century, A.D., contains the following passage: —

The Chi-kung people are very good at making 拭扛 *shih kang* (a mechanical device) for killing birds. They can also make *fei chū* flying cars, which travel with a fair wind to a great distance. At the time of T'ang (B.C. 1766), a west wind carried such a car as far as Yü-chou (Honan); whereupon T'ang broke up the car, not wishing his own people to see it. Ten years later, there was an east wind; and then T'ang caused another car to be made, and sent his visitors back to their own country, which was at a distance of 40,000 *li* (13,000 miles) from the 玉門 *Yü-mén* pass.

A writer, named 郭璞 *Kuo P'o*, A.D. 276—324, who edited the *Shan hai ching*, has left the following short poem, eulogistic of the Chi-kung nation: —

Wonderful are the cunning works  
Of the Chi-kung people!  
In connection with the wind they racked their brains,  
And invented (*fei lun* flying wheels) a flying car,  
Which, rising and descending according to its route (over hills or plains),  
Brought them as guests to the Emperor T'ang.

[“Wheels is here used for “car” because it rhymes in Chinese with “people”, which “car” does not.]

The “flying car” is again mentioned in the 真誥 *Chén kao*, by T'ao Hung-ching (see Biog. Dict., p. 718), a voluminous writer who lived A.D. 451—536, as follows: —

### 東海君乘飛輪車按行諸洞天

The Lord of the Eastern Sea mounted a “flying-wheel car,” and visited all the various heavenly mansions (thirty-six in all).

The 述異記 *Shu i chi*, by 任昉 *Jen Fang* of the early years of the Liang Dynasty, also contains a short account of the Chi-

*kung* nation and their flying cars; and so does the 金樓子 *Chin lou tsü*, the work of 元帝 Yüan Ti, fourth Emperor of the Liang dynasty, who reigned A.D. 552–555. These accounts differ only in trifling turns of phrase from those already given, and throw no fresh light on the all-important question of mechanism. A variation perhaps worth noting is the arrival of the visitors, according to the *Chin lou tsü*, at 禿洲 Ping-chou, instead of at 豫州 Yü-chou, according to the *Po wu chih*.

Finally, the poet Su Tung-p'o, A.D. 1036–1101, has contributed to air-ship literature the following couplet:

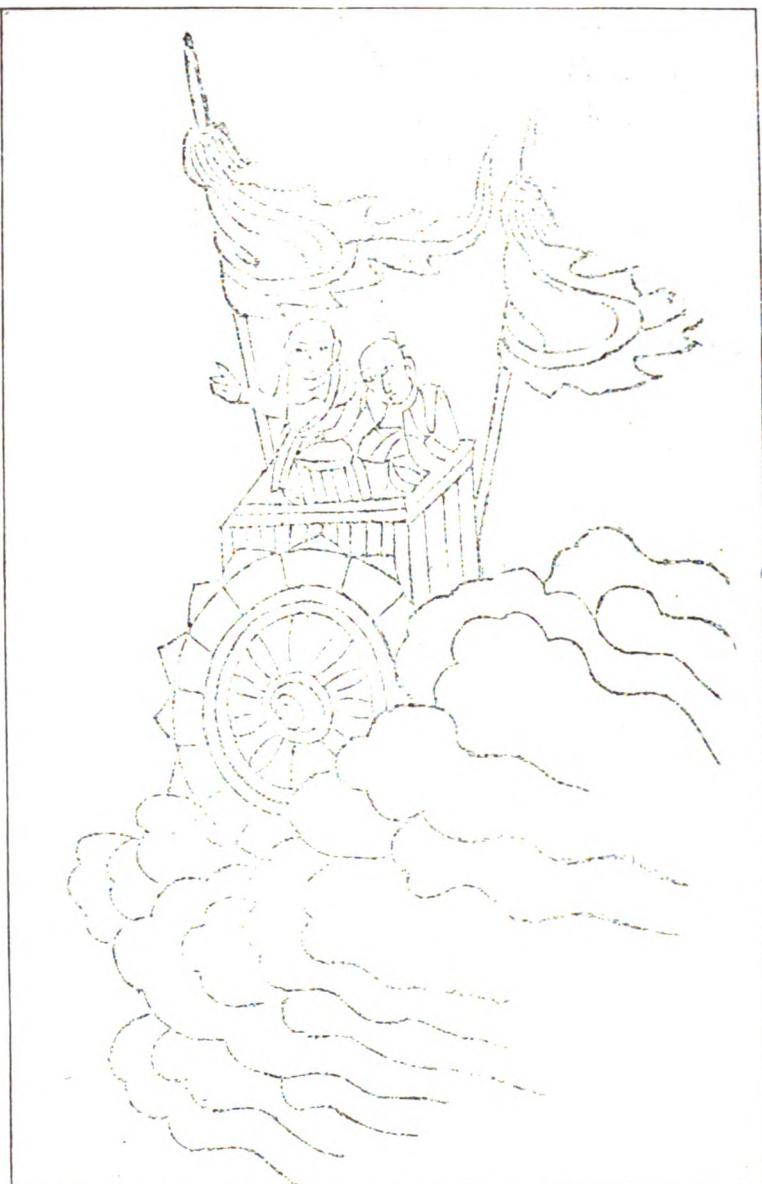
我 欲 乘 飛 車  
東 訪 赤 松 子

Would I could mount a "flying car,"  
And seek in the east (the legendary magician) Ch'ih Sung Tzü!

The annexed pictures of the "flying car" refer to the arrival of the Chi-kung nation, as related above. The earliest is given in the 異域國志 *I yü kuo chih*, a very rare work published between 1368 and 1398, of which the Cambridge University Library is fortunate enough to possess a copy. This picture was reproduced in the 三才圖說 *San ts'ai t'u shuo*, published in 1609, and again in the more modern 圖書集成 *T'u shu chi ch'êng*. Photographs of the first and last are here reproduced, and serve, if no other purpose, to show the fate of Chinese woodcuts as they pass from hand to hand.

It is noticeable at once that the occupants of the car, especially in the later illustration (p. 236), are not one-armed. Also, that the wheels fore and aft are at right angles to the direction in which the car is flying through rolling clouds; and further, what is most curious of all, that the wheels appear to be constructed on the

screw system, like the propeller of a steamer. Now, in the published description of Mr. Latham's flying-machine, we read, —



For the cross-Channel flight a 50 h. p. Antoinette motor has been mounted. This drives a screw which, placed in front

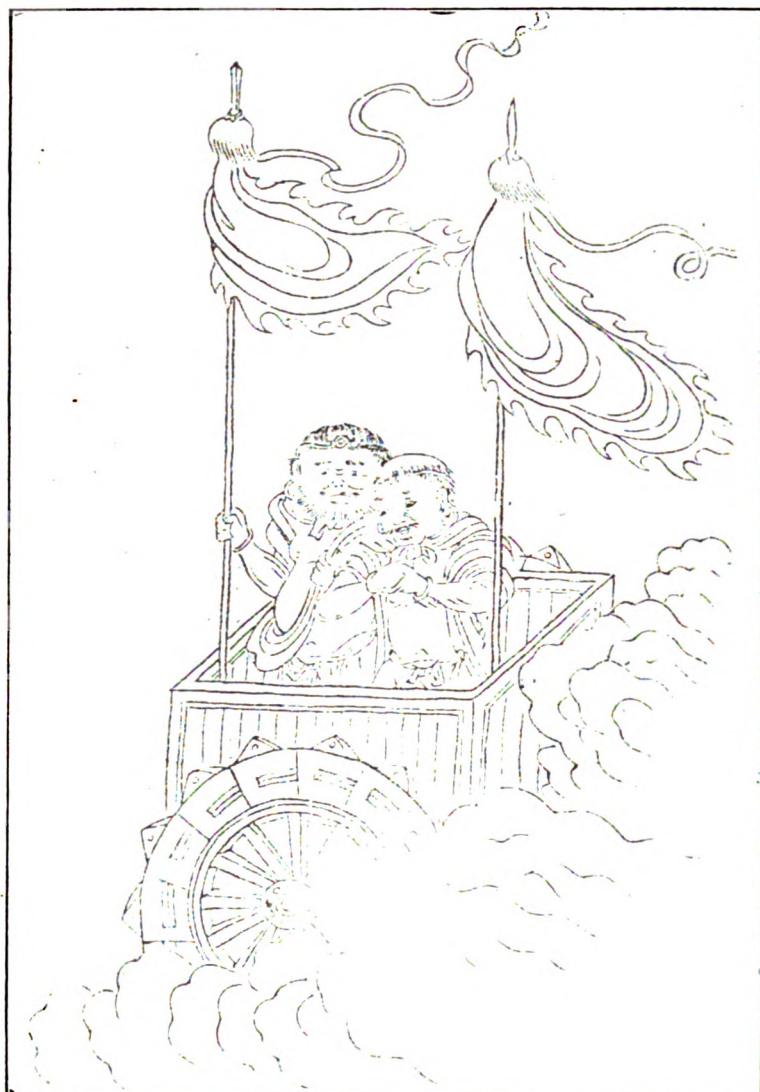
of the machine, cleaves a way through the air, pulling the machine after it. It is called a "tractor screw."

In the machine invented by Leonardo da Vinci (see XIX Century for July, 1910), the screw revolved around a vertical axis, in order to make the car rise, and the motive power was man.

In the Chinese flying car there is unfortunately no sign of any motive power to be seen, and no hint of such is given in the descriptive text. Consequently, until some definite specification is discovered, from which, as in the case of the "taxicab," a working model can actually be constructed, this "flying car" must remain among the numerous unexplained curiosities of early Chinese civilisation. As a coincidence, it may be mentioned that the Italian monk, Andrea Grimaldo, who is said to have flown across the Channel in 1751, had "spent about twenty years travelling in the most remote countries of the east," and had brought back his flying-machine with him. The story of man-raising kites in Japan, dating back to 600 years ago, should be received with caution until the authority for such statements is declared. No credence whatever should be given to the absurd story of the French missionary, Father Besson, who is said to have written in 1694, stating that a balloon had ascended from Peking at the coronation of Fo Kieu in 1306. No Emperor was crowned in 1306, and no such Emperor is known to Chinese history as "Fo Kien."

In conclusion, it can hardly be admitted that "Leonardo not only invented the screw-propeller, but that he had considered its application (for the first time in history) to aerial navigation;" neither can Mr. McCurdy, the writer of the interesting paper above quoted, fairly claim that Leonardo's "commission, of which nothing more is

known, is surely the earliest of any in which the subject is a machine for artificial flight."



## NOTES ON PLACE-NAMES

### 身 毒

In chapter 2 (*ad init.*) of the 西域記 *Hsi yü chi*, by 玄奘  
Hsüan Tsang of the T'ang dynasty, will be found these words:—

詳夫天竺之稱異議糺紛舊云身  
毒或曰賢豆今從正音宜云印度

[The original name of the famous Buddhist priest, 玄藏 Hsüan Tsang, is now written, out of deference to the Emperor K'ang Hsi, 玄奘 or 元奘, and should be pronounced Yüan Tsang. Mayers, Watters, and others write Yüan (or Yüen) Chwang; the Imperial lexicon, however, says plainly that for the name in question the second character is to be read 蔭.]

The above quotation contains the two characters which stand at the head of this note, and this is what we are told, as to their pronunciation and meaning, in various works of reference by the best known authorities:—

MORRISON: 1819. *Shin tah*, an ancient name of India.

MEDHURST: 1842. *Shin tah*, the name of a country.

JULIEN: 1858. *Chin-tou*. He thus translates the above extract from the *Hsi yü chi*:—

Le nom de *T'ien-tchou* (de l'Inde) a reçu des formes diverses et confuses; je vais les faire connaître: Anciennement, on disait *Chin-tou*; quelques auteurs l'appellent *Hien-teaou*.

Maintenant, pour se conformer à la vraie prononciation, il faut dire *In-tou*.

*Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*, II, p. 557.

[In his Index, Julien says, "Chin-tou, faute pour *In-tou*."]

EITEL: 1870. *Sindhу*. Handbook of Chinese Buddhism, p. 47.

WILLIAMS: 1874. *Shān tuh*, an old name for India, or perhaps only that part now known as Scinde.

EDKINS: 1880. *Shin-do*, Scinde, taken for India. *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 88.

CHAVANNES: 1903. *Chen-tou*. Documents sur les Tou-kiue, p. 69 (note). Also, *Les Pays d'Occident etc.*, pp. 46, 47.

WATTERS: 1905. *Shén-tu*. *On Chwang's Travels*, vol. I, p. 132, and Index.

Turning now to the Imperial lexicon of K'ang Hsi, we find the term 身毒國 quoted from an account in the 史記 *Shih chi* of the barbarians of the south-west; and with it we have an intimation from the 索隱 *So yin* that the first character 音捐 is to be pronounced — for some time I thought *chüan*<sup>1</sup>, a mistake due to the modern everyday reading of this word. It will, indeed, be seen on referring to K'ang Hsi under that character, that no such sound as *chüan* is to be found. The sounds given are *yen*<sup>2</sup> or *yūan*<sup>3</sup>, and the adoption of either one of these very much alters the complexion of the term 身毒, which is now brought into line with 印度 *Yin tu*, the "correct pronunciation" of Hsüan Tsang. Morrison, it may be noted, puts 捐 under the sound *keuen*, adding "or *yuen*;" Medhurst puts it under *yuen*, adding "or *keuen*;" Williams puts it under *kūan*, omitting all mention of any other sound. The strangest point of all is that in 1858 Julien should have elected to transliterate *Chin-tou*, as above stated; for in 1847 his eagle eye had already seen the difficulty and its solution. In *Série Quatrième*, vol. X, p. 91, of the *Journal Asiatique*, will be found these words: —

Quant au caractère 身 (vulgo *chin*), suivant l'historien Sse-ma-thsien, il doit se prononcer ici comme 捐 (mot qui, dans *Khang-hi*, se prononce aussi *yun*, son très-voisin de *yn* ou *in*).

### China

The origin of the above term has always been wrapped in mystery. In his *Voyage de 宋雲 Song Yun*, p. 56, note 4, Professor Chavannes writes as follows: —

智猛 Tche-mong, ainsi que 法顯 Fa-hien, qui furent les deux premiers religieux chinois à voyager en Inde, étaient tous deux sujets de la petite dynastie des 後秦 Ts'in postérieurs; suivant l'usage dont nous avons la trace ici même, ils désignèrent aux Hindous leur pays d'origine en disant que c'était 秦地 le pays de Ts'in; traduit en sanscrit, ce nom devint Cinasthāna; les Chinois à leur tour transcrivirent Cinasthāna sous la forme Tchen-tan 真丹, et, plus tard, ils adoptèrent la transcription Tche-na 支那 pour le mot seul de Cina. On voit comment la petite dynastie des Ts'in postérieurs put, malgré son peu de durée, donner naissance à ce nom de Chine qui est devenu pour l'Inde, puis pour toute l'Europe, le nom même de l'Empire du Milieu.

I have inserted the Chinese characters in this seductive argument, and will only remark that in connexion with this question, Professor François Cumont, of the University of Ghent, has kindly pointed out to me the following interesting passage in the works of Vettius Valens, an astrologer who lived under the Antonines, in the middle of the 2nd century of our era: —

Ἐστὶ τῷ Καρχίνῳ ὑποτεταγμένα ταῦτα ἐμπρόσθια  
Βακτριανή· ἀριστερά, Ζεξυνθος, Ἀκχρνανίχ· δπισθία,  
Αἰγιοπίχ, Σχίνη· κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν Μαιῶτις λίμνη  
καὶ τὰ περισικοῦντα ἔθνη etc.

Valens is here enumerating the countries which are subject to

the influences of various parts of the zodiacal sign Cancer, according to a recognised system of astrological geography. Under the influence of the hinder part he places Ethiopia and *Schina*. This Ethiopia is probably not our Ethiopia, but merely a land of people with "burnt faces," on the shores of the Indian Ocean. As to the other name, Professor Cumont says, "Il me paraît indubitable que Σχίνη désigne la Chine. La lecture du mot est certaine." If so, (1) how did Vettius Valens get hold of it in the 2nd century; and (2) does it not render impossible the later attribution of Professor Chavannes?

## 大 秦

The fight over the identification of *Ta-ts'in* seems likely to be renewed with more vigour than ever. In the interests of the rising generation of students it may here be recalled that *Ta-ts'in* is mentioned upon the Nestorian Tablet of A.D. 781 as the country in which a virgin had given birth to a son. The term *Ta-ts'in* is first found in the History of the 後漢 Later, or Eastern Han dynasty, A.D. 25—220, though the country to which it refers had already been mentioned under the name of 黎軒 *Li-kan*. From about the beginning of the 7th century, there appears an alternative to the long-established *Ta-ts'in*, namely, 拂菴 *Fu-lin*. The older sinologues declared that *Fu-lin* was a corruption of [ει; τὴν] πόλιν = Istamboul, Constantinople; and that as *Fu-lin* was *Ta-ts'in*, *Ta-ts'in* was the Roman empire. Professor Hirth, in his deservedly famous "China and the Roman Orient," contended that *Fu-lin* was Bethlehem, and that *Ta-ts'in* was only the Asiatic portion of the Roman empire. With this view, ably worked out, Professor Chavannes originally agreed; but he has recently stated that

un nouvel examen de la question me conduit à reprendre l'ancienne identification de *Fou-lin* avec Byzance.

There is now a new competitor in the field, in the person of

M. Blochet, who endeavours to show in an *Extrait de la Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1908–1909, by a somewhat complicated train of reasoning, (1) that Fu-lin is an attempt on the part of the Chinese to write down Ρώμη, — Rome, as heard through the medium of Greek. M. Blochet then (2) proceeds to show that Ta-ts'in = Η ἄνω Συρία, Upper Syria, 大 being a translation of ἄνω and 秦 a transcription of Syria, which he says would be *thsour* in both Hebrew and Arabic, the steps being *thsour-thsoul-thsun-thsin*. He finally (3) claims that 秦 “a été entendu par les Occidentaux sous la forme Ser, qui se trouve dans Ptolémée;” in which connexion it may be remarked that οἱ Σῆρες is actually found in Strabo. It is not likely that M. Blochet's views will pass unchallenged. Referring to his remarks on p. 23, Professor A. A. Bevan, the distinguished Semitic scholar, has favoured me with the following note: —

The name of the city of Tyre (Gr. Τύρος, Hebr. šūr, Arab. šūr) cannot be connected in any way with the name of Syria, which is a shortened form of Assyria (Hebr. *ashshlūr*). The use of τ in Greek to represent a Semitic š is exceptional, and may be due to the fact that in this case the Hebrew š corresponds etymologically to the Arabic z (ز). [See note on this subject in Art. “Semitic Languages,” by Nöldeke, in *Encycl. Brit.* ed. 9. Also, Nöldeke's article, ΑΣΣΥΡΙΟΣ, ΣΤΡΙΟΣ, ΣΤΡΟΣ, in *Hermes*, V, pp. 443–468; Berlin, 1871].

In regard to the “très forte aspiration” which is found in [Beth-]léhem, and which M. Blochet gives as a phonetic reason why 大 could not be used to represent that sound, Professor Bevan points out that this aspirate disappears altogether in the Greek transcription Βηθλεέμ; why not in Chinese? As for the employment of 大 as a translation of ἄνω Upper, in a geographical sense, I cannot recall a single instance of any such usage; nor do I think it in any way justifiable. The word invariably found in such a sense is 上; e.g. 上河 the upper reaches of a river.

## OPIUM AND ALCOHOL

Those who are interested in the welfare of the Chinese people are still anxiously waiting to see what is to be the final outcome of the famous Edict which was to put an end to opium-smoking within the brief space of ten years. The last word will be, of course, with the people themselves, who would be no more influenced, against their will, by an Edict from the Throne, than they have been during the past forty years by the busy-body efforts of the Anti-Opium Society. To these efforts the Chinese have never paid the slightest attention at any time; it was the triumph of Japan that suggested, among other points to be imitated, a national abstention from the drug.

China has now for a long time been distinguished for her sobriety in regard to the consumption of alcohol; but will there not be a risk, so soon as opium becomes a thing of the past, of developing a Drunk Question, such as confronts us in this country, which has always seemed to me to offer a more terrible problem than the Opium Question, as I have witnessed it in China? There is always human nature to be reckoned with; weak human cravings which, as we are told by Horace, may be driven out with a pitchfork, but which nevertheless will surely come back. The most vigorous English poet of the 19th century has put it on record that

Man being reasonable must get drunk;  
The best of life is but intoxication.—

and if the opium-swoon is to be no longer allowed, it seems natural

to suppose that the ordinary Chinaman will turn his thoughts in the direction of alcoholic drinks.

There being, therefore, such a possibility, it may be useful as well as interesting to trace, so far as possible, chronologically, the history of the use of alcohol in China, with especial reference to the part alcohol played in Chinese social life, prior to the more extended use of opium, which dates from about a century ago.

The origin of wine, — by which convenient term I mean to include all alcoholic drinks — is lost in the mists of antiquity. There are various legends in this connexion, of more or less extravagance. One of these makes wine a divine gift from God, who placed a wine-star in the firmament; another locates a wine-spring on earth; but as one and all have been disposed of by 寶革 Tou Ko of the 11th century, in his 酒譜 *Chiu p'u*, we need not stop to consider them here.

We shall do better by plunging at once into China's feudal age, about 1100 years before Christ, and collecting what scraps of information may be available.

The second king of the Chou dynasty was then on the throne, and it became necessary to issue the 酒譜, a kind of manifesto on the use and abuse of wine; the latter, the abuse of wine, being one of the chief causes of the fall of the preceding House. This curious State paper is still in existence, having successfully resisted the severe tests to which it has been subjected by generations of Chinese critics. It opens by pointing out that wine was originally reserved for sacrificial occasions alone; and that it was by diverting it to the use of man in ordinary life that vice and crime were fostered. The king, however, goes on to say that when a man has done his duty by his parents, then he is at liberty to refresh himself; and when he has done his duty to his sovereign, he may be allowed to 飲食醉飽 drink and eat to elevation and

satiety. The king goes on to point out that the best rulers have always abstained from drink, and he advises the heads of the great feudal houses, the Ministers of War, Works, and Agriculture, to go and do likewise.

There was, no doubt, ample cause for such a manifesto. The feudal age, as pictured for us in the *Odes* and the *Tso Chuan*, must have been a merry age, with plenty of the three excitements which men have always seemed to like best,—war-making, love-making, and getting drunk. An ode written in reference to the entertainment of the feudal princes at Court, begins as follows:—

As the dew on the grass  
With the sun's rays will pass,  
So we'll drink through the night  
Till we're thoroughly tight.

Another long ode, specially directed against drunkenness, describes the guests at an ordinary banquet. They behave quietly enough at first, but

When they begin to feel tipsy,  
Their decorous behaviour changes to frolic;  
They leave their seats and wander about,  
Kicking their legs high in the dance.

By and by

When they are still more drunk,  
They altogether forget themselves,  
And with their caps awry,  
Dance on without ceasing.

The writer adds that if, when drunk, they would only go home, it would be much better, both for themselves and for their host. Another ode illustrates the quiet happiness of the suzerain, as follows:—

Look at the fishes,  
How they rise and sink!  
Look at the king;  
He's having a drink!

In another ode, the royal uncles and brothers thank the king for having given them a feast at which they all got drunk.

Again, another ode was written to illustrate the happy intercourse which prevailed between the Marquis of Lu and the officials of his State: —

Boom, boom, go the drums;  
We get drunk, and then dance,  
All happy together.

No wonder that the *tsieh tsieh* sweet-voiced bard went on to say

Very admirable was the Marquis of Lu.

For it is abundantly clear that the ancient Chinese, as a nation, gloried and drank deep.

Confucius, as we should expect from what we know of his dignified personality, was an honourable exception. He took wine, indeed, but did not allow himself to be confused by it. He was not a teetotaler, but a temperance man.

It is, or was, a comfortable superstition, especially among sailors, that drunkenness is a great protection against physical injury. This idea was anticipated by the philosopher Chuang Tzü, who flourished three centuries and more before Christ.

A drunken man, he says, who falls out of a cart, though he may suffer, does not die. His bones are the same as other people's; but he meets his accident in a different way. His spirit is in a condition of security. He is not conscious of riding in the cart; neither is he conscious of falling out of it. Ideas of life, death, fear, etc., cannot penetrate his breast; and so he does not suffer from contact with objective existences.

In the 孔叢子 *K'ung ts'ung tzü*, a work ascribed to the 3rd century B. C., we read,

The Lord of P'ing-yüan was drinking with Tzü-kao, and kept urging the latter to fill up, saying, It is said that the Emperors Yao and Shun drank one thousand *chung*, and Confucius one hundred *hu*, while Tzü-lu, with all his chatter, managed to get through ten *ho*. Among the holy men and worthies of old, there was none who could not drink; why then do you refuse? I have always heard, replied Tzü-kao, that the holy men and worthies of old strove to unite mankind by moral teaching, and not by drinking and guzzling. If so, retorted the Lord of P'ing-yüan, where did the saying come from? It came, answered Tzü-kao, from drunkards, who are eager to make others like themselves, and it is not true.

We may now pass on to a more genuinely historical period than that we leave behind. In B. C. 179, the Emperor Wēn Ti of the Han dynasty, to signalise his accession to the throne, bestowed a free pardon on all malefactors, and authorised general rejoicings for the space of five days. This meant that the existing law, which prohibited more than three persons from drinking together, without special cause and licence, was for those five days to be in abeyance. From this time onward, the numerous entries referring to wine in the dynastic histories deal almost entirely with prohibitions of its manufacture, sale, and even use, either because it was a Government monopoly, or as a means of husbanding the supply of grain in times of scarcity and drought; and again with the relaxation of such prohibitions in times of plenty. In B. C. 56, the Emperor published an edict, denouncing the arbitrary action of certain high authorities who had prohibited the use of wine. Marriage, said the Emperor, is the most important of human rites, and wine and banqueting are necessary to the due administration of that rite. Passing on to the close of the 2nd century A. D., we find the famous general Ts'ao Ts'ao, one of the heroes of the Three Kingdoms,

presenting a memorial in time of drought and rebellion, asking that the use of wine should be prohibited. In this he was successfully opposed by K'ung Jung, who argued that there had always been a wine-star in the sky, and a spring of wine on earth. That the Emperors of the Golden Age had drunk wine, that Confucius had drunk wine, and that many acts of bravery had been performed by horses well primed with liquor, etc., etc.

But we must now go back to the earlier years of the Han dynasty, in which we shall find that the everyday wine of the people, an ardent spirit distilled from rice or millet, was confronted by some serious rivals for popular favour. The two most important seem to have appeared about the same time, though the sources from which they came must have been widely different. The first of these was 馬乳酒 or 酥酪 the alcoholic liquor produced by fermentation of mare's milk, and known to us as *koumiss* or *cosmos*. This drink, undoubtedly of Tartar origin, is mentioned in the History of the Western Han Dynasty, which covers a period of 200 years before Christ; and we are further told that in the year B.C. 104 the Emperor Wu Ti made an alteration in the official title of those whose duty it was to superintend the preparation of koumiss for Imperial use. "Their drink," says Marco Polo (ch. LIII), "is mare's milk, prepared in such a way that you would take it for white wine; and a right good drink it is, called by them *kemiz*." Rubruquis says, "It makes a man's inside feel very cosy."

This form of wine, however, does not seem to be frequently mentioned in Chinese literature. Liu Yin (A.D. 1241-1293) of the Mongol dynasty, wrote a short poem, entitled "Black-Horse Wine," in which he speaks of it as the 仙酪 "godlike cream;" and 許有壬 Hsü Yu-jen of the same dynasty declares that 味似融甘露 it has the flavour of nectar (*amrita*), and the fragrance of the wine-spring. "The foal," he adds, "is pining for its milk, while

the general is lying drunk in his tent." It is also mentioned in the biography of 速不台 Su-pu-t'ai, also of the same dynasty, in these words: 後大會飲馬乳蒲萄酒 "Afterwards there was a grand banquet, at which koumiss and grape-wine were drunk."

The other of the two chief rivals to the grain-spirit or whisky of China, is the fermented juice of the grape, *i. e.*, wine in our sense of the term. Grape-wine was very much in vogue in China for a great number of centuries. It became a popular drink with many of the tipsy poets and painters who have adorned the annals of Chinese literature and art. Grapes are there said to have been introduced from Li-i, some country to the west of China; there is, however, little reason to doubt that grapes and walnuts were both brought from 大宛 Ferghana or Khokand by the famous statesman and traveller, Chang Ch'ien, about B.C. 130, who is further said to have taught his countrymen the art of making wine, which he learnt from the Persians.

It is first mentioned in the History of the Han dynasty, by Pan Ku, who died A.D. 92. There we read, 大宛左右以葡萄爲酒 Round about Ferghana, a wine is made from grapes; which, we are further told, is stored by wealthy people for many decades, without spoiling. Grapes are alluded to by the poet-Emperor Wén Ti, A.D. 188–226, as surpassing both lungans and lichees in flavour; though he adds that 酣且不如中國 the wine (made therefrom) is not equal to the wine of China. In another essay, he is more liberal in his praises, saying that grape-wine 除煩解倦 dissipates care and dispels fatigue; that 道之固以流涎 to talk of it promptly makes the mouth water; also, that 善醉而易醒 it readily makes you drunk, but you easily become sober again.

It is, however, from the poets of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 605–906),

that we get the fullest recognition of the part played by grape-wine in the social life of China.

The poet 王績 Wang Chi, of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., to whom I shall return, mentions the red wine of the grape. He was beyond doubt a hard drinker, and asks,

When all around me are drunk,  
How can I alone bear to be sober?

Li T'ai-po, A.D. 705—762, speaks of the Han river in the distance as duck's-egg green, "like the colour of fresh unstrained grape-wine." 王翰 Wang Han, also of the 8th century, has the following short poem on military life: —

'Tis night; the grape-juice mantles high in cups of gold galore;  
We set to drink, — but now the bugle sounds to horse once more.  
Oh marvel not if drunken we lie strewed about the plain;  
How few of all who seek the fight shall e'er come back again!

The Emperor Mu Tsung, who reigned A.D. 821—825, was on one occasion giving an entertainment, at which grape-wine from western 凉州 Liang-chou was introduced. "Drink this," said the Emperor, "and very soon you will feel a delicious sensation creeping all over your body."

皮日休 Pi Jih-hsiu, who graduated in A.D. 867, has a short poem in which he mentions the visit of a friend, when all the chrysanthemums had been killed by early frosts, and there was nothing for him to look at but a grape-vine on a trellis. He was not a tippler himself; at any rate, he has left behind him a powerful admonition against wine.

Tou Ko, mentioned above, says that "In Ferghana, a great quantity of wine is made from grapes, and huge quantities of it are stored away, not spoiling even after many decades."

元好問 Yüan Hao-wén, who graduated in A.D. 1221, has a

long poem eulogistic of the grape, in a prefatory note to which he says that the 大食 Taji Arabs made wine from grapes. In another poem he asks 俗病從何醫 how ordinary diseases are to be cured if people do not drink wine; adding that although flowers are his friends, 痛飲真吾師 hard drinking is his philosopher and guide.

In A.D. 1381, a second poet named 王翰 Wang Kan drank of some grape-wine at a temple. He says it was sweet, cool, and clear as crystal, not to be excelled by either 金杵之露 or 玉杵之霜,—whatever these drinks may be. By and by, he became dead drunk; and on waking, he called for pen and paper, and indited 葡萄酒賦 a poem, in which he describes how delightfully he had found himself laughing and talking, mind and body enjoying perfect peace, and how he had passed quickly into the oblivion of sleep, quite unaware of the moon shining brightly in the south-west.

徐學謨 Hsü Hsüeh-mo, of the Ming dynasty, has an amusing poem, entitled 醉中題醉人圖 telling how when he had been to give a parting friend a good send-off, and had taken enough wine to make him thoroughly tipsy, he suddenly found himself in front of a picture of a drunken man,—a common subject, by the way, with Chinese artists, especially in reference to Buddhist priests, who speak euphemistically of wine as 般若湯 “salvation soup,” and whose backslidings the artists love to portray. What chiefly puzzled our friend Hsü, was to decide who was the drunker, himself, or the man in the picture. But what chiefly concerns us is the fact that the wine which had elevated Hsü was, in his own words, “from the grape, and red as blood.”

Finally, 李時珍 Li Shih-chén, author of the great 本草 *Materia Medica*, has an article on the mode of preparation, and the different kinds, of grape-wine; but the use of this drink does

not appear to have survived under the Manchu dynasty, certainly not to the present day. In which connexion, it is interesting to note that efforts are now being made at Chefoo to produce wine from the fine grapes which abound in the north of China.

We must now retrace our steps to the point at which we turned aside from the main issue, to note the introduction and use of koumiss and grape-wine. With regard to other intoxicating drinks, it is not necessary to do more than say that the Chinese have made wine from cassia-flowers, from the chrysanthemum, from the pomegranate, from pepper (胡椒酒古人於歲朝飲之), and even red wine from peach-blooms, just as we make cowslip, gooseberry, and elderberry wine. They also mention wines made by barbarians from coco-nut, betel-nut, etc. Even the art of making perry was discovered, as we are told in a miscellany of the 13th century, by a man who put away some pears in a jar and then forgot all about them. Such, however, are merely fancy drinks, and have no serious bearing upon the subject.

It still remains to be seen what once was, and may be again, the national feeling towards the use of alcohol, and the extent to which its use and abuse have been carried.

It is recorded of 蔡邕 Ts'ai Yung, the great statesman who died A.D. 193, that once when he arrived at a house to which he had been invited for some festivity, he found that his host was already drunk.

In the 3rd century A.D., seven poets formed themselves into a kind of club, and took as their title "The Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove." One of these "worthies" was 劉伶 Liu Ling, author of a famous piece, entitled 酒德頌 In Praise of Wine, in which he describes a fruitless attack made upon him by a couple of teetotalers. He was a hard drinker, and declared that to a drunken man "the affairs of this world appear but as so much

duckweed in a river." He wished to be always accompanied by a servant with wine, and followed by another with a spade, so that he might be buried where he fell.

Chêng Ch'üan of the same century was greatly addicted to wine. On his deathbed, he said to his friends, Bury me alongside a potter's field, so that some hundred years hence, when I have been turned once more into earth, I may happily be taken and made into a wine-jar, in accordance with my dearest wish.

These words hardly fail to recall the famous old song of two centuries ago, referring to the death of Toby Fillpot:—

His body, when long in the ground it had lain,  
 And time into clay had resolved it again,  
 A potter found out in its covert so snug,  
 And with part of fat Toby he formed this brown jug;  
 Now sacred to friendship, and mirth, and mild ale,  
 So here's to my lovely sweet Kate of the vale!

葛洪 Ko Huung, a philosopher of the 4th century A.D., otherwise known as 抱朴子 Pao Po Tzü, wrote a long article on the evils of wine. He warns against yielding to the delights of the eye, ear, nose, mouth, and heart; the eye being confused by beauty, the ear by sweet sounds, the nose by fragrant perfumes, the mouth by rich food, and the heart by ambition and desire for gain. Wine, he goes on to say, is a poisonous thing, and of not the smallest benefit. Men begin by laughing and talking; they soon get to dancing and shouting, no one troubling to answer anybody else, and so on to still more disgraceful scenes. The great evil of the age is drunkenness, owing to which the superior man loses his self-respect, and his humbler fellow-creature finds himself in prison. About the same time, 陶潛 T'ao Ch'ien, one of China's most famous poets, was inditing ode upon ode in praise of wine. In one he declares that he loves to get half tipsy every evening, and then

dash off a few lines of poetry to amuse himself. In another, he rails against the idea of stopping wine, saying that if his wine was stopped at night, he could not go to sleep; and that if it was stopped in the morning, he would never be able to get up. 傅奕 Fu I, a scholar and official who died in A.D. 639, was the originator of epitaphs in China. He wrote his own, and has given us thereby a clue to his mode of life: —

Fu I loved the green hills and white clouds:  
Alas! he died of drink.

The poet Li T'ai-po, above-mentioned, is supposed to have met his death by tumbling out of a boat, when drunk, in a frantic effort to embrace the reflection of the moon. The teetotaler will get no consolation from him. He tells us that 300 cups of wine will banish thousands of cares; and that although cares may be many and cups proportionally few, the former will have to go. Li T'ai-po further argues, "If God had not loved wine, he would never have placed a wine-star in the sky;" and so he winds up with a recommendation to everybody to get regularly drunk in spite of what abstainers may say, the only true happiness being, as he shows in another poem, a continued state of intoxication without even a flash of sobriety. He certainly practised what he preached, and proved himself too inveterate a sot even for one of the tipsiest Courts the world has ever seen. One of his best known pieces runs as follows: —

What is life after all but a dream?  
And why should such bother be made?  
Better far to be tipsy, I deem,  
And doze all day long in the shade.

When I wake and look out on the lawn,  
I hear midst the flowers a bird sing;  
I ask, "Is it evening or dawn?"  
The mango-bird whistles, "Tis spring."

Overpower'd with the beautiful sight,  
 Another full goblet I pour,  
 And would sing till the moon rises bright—  
 But soon I'm as drunk as before.

The following verse is by an anonymous writer:—

Li Po would get drunk with a hundred cups daily;  
 The life of old Liu Ling was one long-drawn swill;  
 And because, with the winecup, their hours passed so gaily,  
 Their fame among mortals is evergreen still.

The poet 杜甫 Tu Fu (A.D. 712—770) had his portrait taken when drunk, and another poet wrote an ode about it. Of his poems which refer to wine, the following may be taken as a specimen:—

From the Court every eve to the pawnshop I pass,  
 To come back from the river the drunkest of men;  
 As often as not I'm in debt for my glass;—  
 Well, few of us live to be threescore and ten.  
 The butterfly flutters from flower to flower,  
 The dragon-fly sips and springs lightly away,  
 Each creature is merry its brief little hour,  
 So let us enjoy our short life while we may.

Another poet of the first rank, 白居易 Po Chü-i (A.D. 772—846), declares in plain language that the hours when a man is drunk are far preferable to those in which he is sober. "On a frosty day," he says, "or a snowy night, wine can turn cold into warmth." He wrote several poems, long and short, all in praise of wine and drunkenness.

劉駕 Liu Chia, of about the same date, has a quaint little verse, entitled, 醒後 "On becoming sober":—

One day while I tipsily snoozed in my bower,  
 The sun disappearing had darkened the land;  
 My guests had all left me for many an hour;  
 The cup and the wine-jar lay strewn on the sand.....  
 I could not recall I had picked me a flower,  
 Yet I waked up to find I had one in my hand.

許宣平 Hsü Hsüan-p'ing has another, on the delights of drinking:—

In the morning my pedlar will sell his wares,  
And he buys his wine as he homeward fares;  
You ask where the home of my pedlar lies.....  
The home of that man is in Paradise!

陸游 Lu Yu of the Sung dynasty thus apostrophises wine:—

Soft as the spring-time, as the autumn sweet,  
One stoup of thee, at night, all joys will yield;  
Demons of care fall harmless at my feet;  
Therefore I say, Be thou my spear and shield!

張演 Chang Yen, a poet of the 9th century, gives us a glimpse of a "Spring Feast" in a village:—

The paddy crops are waxing rich upon the Goose-Lake hill;  
The fowls have just now gone to roost, the grunting pigs are still;  
The mulberry casts a lengthening shade,— the festival is o'er,  
And tipsy revellers are helped, each to his cottage door.

王績 Wang Chi, already quoted, wrote a humorous article on a country which he called 酔鄉 Drunkland. He drew a fascinating picture of the happy lives of its inhabitants, and mentioned many eminent men who had been there, never to return; all of which, he adds, attracted him so much that *如是予得遊焉 he finally went there himself.*

A contemporary of his, 皇甫湜 Huang-fu T'i, after a serious bout of drinking, at the end of which he admits he was dead drunk, wrote 酔賦 a poem, warning others of the dangers connected with wine.

Of course the majestic figure of 韓文公 Han Wén-kung, the Prince of Literature, will be found on the side of moderation and restraint. Though not an abstainer himself, his writings will be searched in vain for anything like encouragement of actual drunkenness.

Many of the Emperors, on the other hand, gave way only too readily to the seduction of the bowl. The Emperor known as **更始** Kêng Shih, who died A.D. 25, used to get drunk with his ladies, and kept a eunuch near him to answer for him any questions on matters of State. His generals, however, knew that the voice was not that of the Emperor, and were very angry; but **韓夫人** the Lady Han, who loved wine as much as the Emperor himself, resented their intrusions, and on one occasion said, "His Majesty has just been taking wine with me; why do you choose such a moment to come here?" at the same time kicking over the table on which documents for the Emperor's inspection had been laid. The Emperor **宣帝** Hsüan Ti of the N. Chou dynasty was always drunk. One of his courtiers ventured in consequence to sing the following song to his Majesty: —

We are drunken at sunrise, and also at night,  
And drunk in the daytime as long as 'tis light;  
But if we get tipsy thus early and late,  
What time will be left us for matters of State?

For this he was bambooed to death.

It has never accorded with Chinese etiquette to be drunk in the Imperial presence, and many officials have suffered dismissal and degradation for such behaviour. There have been exceptions. We read in the biography of K'ung Shou-chêng of the Sung dynasty, who died in 1004, and whose name, by the way, means Maintainer of Correct Attitude, that the said K'ung was on one occasion not only drunk in his Majesty's presence, but so disorderly, that next day his colleagues actually asked for his punishment. To this the Emperor graciously replied, "Last night **朕亦大醉漫不復省** We were drunk Ourselves; let the incident be regarded as closed." Again, we read in the biography of **周起** Chou Ch'i, that he and **寇準** K'ou Chun, who had both been guilty of getting drunk

at a wine-party, appeared before the same Emperor, Chén Tsung, to apologise for their misconduct. The Emperor, however, smiled and said, "The empire is at peace; and if **大臣相與飲酒** 何過之有 my high officers get together and drink, what harm is there in that?"

Under the Southern T'ang dynasty, in the 10th century, **張易** Chang I, an official who was notoriously outrageous when in his cups, got drunk in the presence of the Empress, and smashed a favourite jade goblet belonging to her Majesty, because, as he said, "things were valued, and men held cheap." The spectators were disgusted, and the Empress promptly retired.

It is even recorded of **李茂貞** Li Mou-chêñ that once, when pledging the Emperor Chao Tsung of the T'ang dynasty who was unwilling to respond, he was so drunk that he rapped his Majesty on the face with his winecup, to the great scandal of all present. There are few records of drunken women in China, but we do read of an Empress Dowager of the 12th century, the mother of **海陵王** Hai-ling Wang, who once got hopelessly drunk on her son's birthday.

The price of wine, and the quantity consumed in ancient times, must always remain more or less a matter of speculation, in view of the changes which have taken place in Chinese values, weights, and measures. The Emperor Chén Tsung is said to have been able to drink three **斗** *tou*, or what we now call three gallons, without being confused; but what a *tou* may have contained at the beginning of the 11th century, it is almost impossible to say. He one day enquired of his courtiers what had been the price of wine under the T'ang dynasty, and was told, "300 *cash* a gallon," as could be proved from a verse of the poet Tu Fu,

See, 300 cash in my pocket I've got;  
'Tis exactly the sum that will buy us a pot.

A capacity for wine seems always to have been as highly esteemed in China as with us in the 18th and 19th centuries. In fact, one Emperor declared that it was just as essential to the success of a banquet as a capacity for verse. The mythical Emperors are usually said to have been able to swallow prodigious quantities, but as these quantities are always measured in cups or goblets, we are unable to form any reliable estimate of their powers. A late Emperor, who asked the elder of two brothers how he compared with the younger, received the following answer: — "As a thinker, he beats me; as a drinker, I beat him."

Another official, named 李瀆 Li Tu, who regularly took too much, was urged by his friends to give up drink. "I take it for my health," he replied; "I cannot do without it; and I find this a pleasurable way of spending my declining years." To his son he once said, in a play upon words which cannot be reproduced, "Water is an excellent thing — in a landscape; but if I can die drunk, I shall die happy." In like manner argues Yüan Hao-wên of the Nü-chêu Tartar dynasty, "If a man does not drink wine, how is he to cure his various complaints?" On the other hand, 蘇東坡 Su Tung-p'o, the famous statesman and poet, was by nature a moderate drinker, and declared that when young 見酒蓋而醉 the sight even of a winecup made him drunk.

There are many stories in Chinese literature of practical jokes played on tipsy people. One man, in early days, when shoes were left at the house door, — a custom borrowed later on by the Japanese, — used to amuse himself by mixing up the shoes of his guests, and re-arranging them at random; the result being that when the guests took their leave, already half-seas over, with one big shoe and one little one, there were many falls and sprawlings in the road, much enjoyed by the host who was seeing his friends home.

張翰 Chang Han, of the 3rd century, who declared that he would rather have one cup of wine at the moment than any amount of fame by and by, was nevertheless a model of filial piety.

The poet Chang Yeu-kung said:—

All joys are poor to sober glance;  
True joys to wine belong,—  
When every step we take is dance,  
And every word is song.

Of 周伯仁 Chou Po-jen it is told that he was only sober twice in his life, both times on the occasion of a funeral.

Everybody, of course, was not necessarily a drunkard in old days. K'ung Yü was; but he had a good teetotal friend, who pointed out to him as a warning that after some time even the covers of wine-jars rotted away, from contact with their dangerous contents. To this he retorted, that even meat and grain were not exempt from putrefaction.

The widowed mother of 楊元琮 Yang Yüan-tsung would not speak to her son for ten days after he had got drunk with some friends. "Your father," she said, "never drank to excess; and if you are to come rolling home in this drunken fashion, how will you be fit to set an example to your younger brothers?"

王世充 Wang Shib-ch'ung, who died in A.D. 621, went so far as to ennable wine as 天祿大夫, much in the same sense that James I (or Charles II) is said to have knighted the loin of beef. Wine seems always to have been what Aristophanes called it,

*Χρηστῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ νόσος*

The disease of honest gentlemen

and there is actually a book in existence, entitled "Lives of Drunken Worthies, with Portraits."

焦遂 Chiao Sui, a hard drinker of the 8th century, stammered so badly when sober that he could hardly get a word out; but

after five pints of wine his repartees would flash forth as quickly as echo follows sound.

歐陽修 Ou-yang Hsiu (A.D. 1007–1072), one of China's most famous statesmen, and a poet and historian to boot, when Governor of modern Hupeh, named a kiosque, which he used to frequent, 醉翁亭 "The Old Drunkard's Arbour." There, as he tells us, he, "an old man with white hair, the drunken Governor," is wont to assemble his friends. "Drunk, he can rejoice with them; sober, he can discourse with them; — such is the Governor."

Tou Ko, mentioned above, quotes with approval a writer who argues that because, while even the ocean may be frozen, wine (here spirit) cannot be frozen, therefore the nature of wine is warming, and useful for warming both the body and the heart of man. He adds a story of three men, who set out on a journey one damp and foggy morning. The first, who had eaten nothing, died from exposure; the second, who had taken some gruel, was very ill; while the third, who had drunk wine, had nothing at all the matter with him. This proves, says Tou Ko, that wine can keep out cold.

陸竹溪 Lu Chu-ch'i, well-known in the neighbourhood of Swatow, was returning home from a dinner, when he fell flat down in the middle of the street, and remained there in a tipsy doze. By and by, the Prefect came along in his chair, and on learning what was the matter, roared at him to get up. But Lu merely raised himself lazily on his elbow, and said, "You are the Prefect: that's your business. I am drunk: that's my business." And he followed this up by an impromptu couplet: —

Though the torrent be swift, it can ne'er carry off  
the moonbeam that lights up its bed;  
Though the mountain be high, yet it cannot arrest  
the fast-flying cloud overhead.

Many, however, are the startling stories told in Chinese literature

to frighten people from giving way to what has evidently been recognised as a dangerous national vice. One man, who came home drunk and went to bed, on stretching out his hand during the night to reach a wine-flask by his bedside, was seized by a demon, and dragged gradually into the earth. In response to his shrieks, his relatives and neighbours only arrived in time to see the ground close over his head, just as though he had fallen into water.

But sometimes the moral is unfortunately the other way round. A man, who had got very drunk, set off to cross a mountain by night. Overcome with the drink, he sank down on the edge of a precipice, and was soon fast asleep. Just then along came a tiger; and creeping up to the sleeping man, the animal began to sniff at his face. One of the tiger's whiskers ran into the man's nose, and tickled him so much that he gave a loud sneeze, at which the terrified tiger started so violently that it fell over the precipice, and was killed.

高駢 Kao P'ing, the poet and archer who pierced two eagles with a single shaft, when on one occasion he was being urged to drink to excess, pleaded in verse a quaint excuse for moderation:—

Believe me, I am not unwilling to drink;  
But what would the flowers and the orioles think?

That poets should seek inspiration from the winecup is perhaps not so astonishing; at any rate, classical literature has thoroughly accustomed us to the idea. It is perhaps more startling to find that a very large number of Chinese painters have not only been hard drinkers, but have thrown off their best works when under the influence of alcohol. The biographies of Chinese artists are full of such stories, of which one may be taken as a specimen. 吳偉 Wu Wei, a painter of the 15th century, was one day suddenly summoned by the Emperor. Being quite tipsy, he had to be supported

into the palace; and when the Emperor bade him draw a spring among pine-trees, he fell on his knees, and in doing so knocked over the iukpot. In a moment, with his hand only, he produced on the floor a charming picture, with which the Emperor was much delighted, declaring that it was an inspired work.

In the great "Concordance" to Chinese literature, there are over 300 headings under which the numerous references to drunkenness are arranged. Of these headings, the following may be taken as specimens:—Morning drunkenness, Evening drunkenness, Daily drunkenness, Spring (Summer and Autumn) drunkenness, Solitary drunkenness, Drunkenness in company, Stammering drunkenness, First to be drunk, ~~迷~~ Blind drunkenness, etc., etc.

Proverbial literature deals largely with the subject, temperance and hard drinking principles alike receiving support:—

If you would give up drink, you have only to look, when sober, on a drunken man.  
After three cups, great mysteries become clear; once drunk, all cares are gone.  
Wine can do both good and harm.

Wine is a poison.

Wine is a drink for man.

Wine does not intoxicate; 'tis the man who does that.

Wine cannot dispel real sorrow.

For solving difficulties, there is nothing like wine.

Wine is the glorious gift of God.

From the above it will readily be gathered that the Chinese have not always been the generally sober people we now find them; and it becomes a question of some importance to consider whether or not they will be likely, when opium is no longer available, to revert to the use of strong driuks. "Opium," said Sir John Davis, "is neither brutalising in its immediate, nor as prejudicial in its ultimate, effects as spirits."

Dr. Ayres, when Colonial Surgeon at Hongkong, said, "The habit does no physical harm in moderation." On this the *Hongkong Daily*

*Press* commented, "Many medical men have at various times given similar testimony to that of the Colonial Surgeon, but it has been uniformly ignored by those who belong to the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade."

The same paper wrote at a later date, "It must now be pretty well known that opium, as smoked in China, is less deleterious to the consumer than alcoholic liquors are to the lower classes in Great Britain."

In a chapter on opium-smoking, I myself contributed the following query, "Who ever saw in China a tipsy man reeling about the crowded thoroughfare, or lying with his head in a ditch by the side of some country road?"

Now, various magistrates and judges have from time to time declared that almost all the considerable body of crime in this country can be traced directly or indirectly to drink. "If it were not for alcohol," said Lord Coleridge, "three-fourths of our criminal courts would be closed in this country, and closed for ever." It certainly cannot be said that crime in China is equally traceable to opium. Alcohol maddens to assault and murder; opium soothes to peacefulness and slumber. As I pointed out more than thirty years ago, "opium-smoking is a more self-regarding vice than drunkenness, which entails gout and other evils upon the third and fourth generations. Posterity can suffer little or nothing at the hands of the opium-smoker, for to the inveterate smoker all chance of posterity is denied."

The evils of drink in this country are so extensive, and so loathsome, that any one who really knows anything about the matter must deeply regret the time and money wasted by an English philanthropic society over an effort in which they have wholly failed to influence either the Chinese Government or the Chinese people; while there is some reason to fear that the present national move-

ment — if such there be — may only result in transferring the empire from the frying-pan of opium to the still more deadly fires of morphia or alcohol.

In part confirmation of the above, the Peking correspondent of the *Peking and Tientsin Times* writes, under date of August, 1909:—  
"The opium abolition was, for a time, entirely genuine, though  
"the methods applied were foolish and the 'cures' useless. The  
"reform at present in the capital is nothing but a farce, for the  
"town is flooded with pills containing morphia and other opium  
"products which can be bought openly in hundreds of shops and  
"are consumed in enormous quantities by thousands of Chinese.  
"These are swallowed by the handful by many who never smoked  
"opium."

## THE CELESTIAL HORSE AND OTHERS

There is a legend, told by Ssü-ma Ch'ien, and repeated in the History of the Han dynasty, that in 元鼎四年 the year B.C. 113 a supernatural horse was cleverly caught in the river 湿洼 Yo-wa in Shensi. The following poem, which is attributed by Ssü-ma Ch'ien to the Emperor Wu Ti of the Han dynasty, refers to the arrival from Ferghana of a 天馬 Celestial Horse, forwarded by General Li Kuang-li after his capture and execution of the king of that country in B.C. 101.

A celestial horse has come from the extreme west,  
Over ten thousand *li*, to find its home with the just.  
It brings a divine majesty to protect us from foreign nations;  
It crosses the great desert, and the barbarians of the four quarters submit.

Li Po, writing in the 8th century, says,

天馬來出月氏窟

The celestial horse came from the land of the Yüeh-chih (Ephthalites),

背爲虎文龍翼骨

Striped on the back like a tiger, and having the wings of a dragon.

There seems to be here some confusion with the legendary Pegasus, borrowed from Greek mythology, which figures so largely in Chinese decorative ornament. The genuine Celestial Horse, mentioned in the Imperial poem given above, is however usually represented merely as a fiery specimen of the normal animal, white in colour; and nowhere more vigorously than in the annexed woodcut by

丁雲鵬 Ting Yün-p'êng, taken from the 方氏墨譜 *Fang shih mo p'u* (published in 1588), in which the neck is positively clothed with Jobian thunder<sup>1</sup>), the whole being the result of a few strokes of the brush. It is true, no doubt, that the legs are not in



any of the positions given by M. Salomon Reinach in his *Apollo* (p. 7), and possibly they may be altogether wrong. The remarks

1) The Chinese actually say 電腰風腳 "of lightning loins and wind-speed foot."

of Sir Ray Lankester on this subject (*Daily Telegraph*, 12 June, 1909) are here very much to the point:—

I find that the most satisfactory pictures of the galloping horse are those which combine a phase of the movement of the front legs with a phase of the movement of the hind legs, not simultaneous in actual occurrence, but following one another. It is for the artist to select the combination best suited to producing the mental result aimed at. Some of the Chinese and Japanese representations of the galloping horse . . . . . seem to me to be eminently satisfactory and successful in this respect. In the pictures to which I allude all the legs are off the ground; the front legs are advanced, but one or both may be more or less flexed, whilst the hind legs, though directed backwards with upturned hoofs, are not nearly horizontal (as they actually are in the galloping dog), but show the moderate extension which really occurs in the horse, and is recorded by instantaneous photography.

Reference may also be made to the learned and exhaustive work on the Horse by Professor Ridgeway, which contains a mass of most interesting information.

The Chinese teach, and appear to have always taught, their horses to amble. This is carried out by the simple method of tying the near fore-leg to the near hind-leg, and the off fore-leg to the off hind-leg, when it only remains to set the animal in motion. The accompanying picture, taken from the *異域國志* *I yü kuo chih* Account of Strange Nations, published about A.D. 1380 (see p. 233), shows a native of the *包石* *Pao-shih* country riding upon an ambling horse. A copy of this work, somewhat the worse for time, stands upon the shelves of the Chinese Library at Cambridge. Its title-page is gone; but the text throughout is legible enough. I have never heard of any other collection which possesses this book. It was attributed by *金銑* Chin Hsien to the Sung, but may belong to the Yüan dynasty. The compilers of the Imperial Catalogue refer it to the Ming dynasty, on account of a passage which would constitute an anachronism. This passage, however, is not found in the

copy under notice; from which it would appear that the volume in the palace library was a Ming reprint of the original work, now to be found at Cambridge.

Another rather touching horse picture, from the same source, is



here given; — one of the 黑契丹 *Hei ch'i tan* Black Kitan Tartars sitting down with his horse curled affectionately around him. But of course for really artistic renderings of the horse we have to turn to the marvellous traditions of 韓幹 Han Kan and his "Huudred Colts," as handed down in the woodcuts published in 1588 (pp. 268-9). Here, as 張耒 Chang Lei said, 肉中藏骨 "there are bones beneath the flesh."

The Chinese themselves are very fond of their horses, and many writers have expressed this fondness in verse. 沈炯 Shên Ch'üng



of the 6th century A.D., thus 咏 eulogises his 老馬 Old Charger: —

勿言年齒暮  
尋途尚不迷

Oh say not that his teeth are in the evening of their day;  
He still can find his way about, and never goes astray.

Tu Fu has 17 poems addressed to horses, all of a most sympathetic character, especially one 病馬 To my Sick Steed.

乘爾亦已久

Thou who hast borne me so long!

There is a very beautiful 祭文 funeral oration, written by Lu Chén, a scholar and official of the Sung dynasty (d. A. D. 1014),



"A Hundred Colts."

From 16th century woodcuts after Han Kan (T'ang dynasty). Even in these poor and distant translations the power and Rubens-like animation of the original can be felt. The treatment of the subject provided an admired model for the early masters of Japan. L. B.

in honour of the large number of war-horses which perished from fatigue and want of food in the disastrous flight of 王榮 Wang Jung from the Kitan Tartars, and for the burial of which, with fitting ceremonies, the Emperor actually sent a special Commissioner. "Their mortal bones," said the oration, "would be buried beneath

the tramp of man, but their ethereal essence would mount to the mists of heaven." In conclusion: "If you horses have souls, you will recognise the kindly feelings of his Majesty the Emperor. Alack and alas!" Another writer, 劉子翬 Liu Tzü-hui of the 12th century, has left a poetical lament over a further number of war-horses, which



"A Hundred Colts."

perished in a somewhat similar manner. At the end, he alludes to the famous story of the burnt-out stables, when Confucius asked if any man was hurt, but did not ask about the horses: 余何眷眷於此哉 "Am I to be unalterably bound by this?"

The *Shih chi* contains the story of a horse which was a great favourite with King Chuang of the Ch'u State (B.C. 612-589). The animal was dressed in embroidered silks, and lodged in an ornamental room; it slept on a matted couch, and lived upon dates

and preserved meat. Of course it got too fat and died; and the king in his grief wished to bury it in a double coffin, with all the elaborate ceremonial due to a Minister of State. He was dissuaded from this by a bold musician, who suggested to the king that the horse should be buried with the full ceremonial due to royalty, in a carved jade coffin enclosed in a painted wooden case, etc., etc.; finally explaining, when, in response to this irony, the king had admitted his error, that a stove and a saucepan were its most fitting coffin, that it should 衣以火光 be dressed with fire, and be buried in the bellies of the people like any other of the six domestic animals.

A considerable section of Chinese literature is devoted entirely to horses and their doings. The prototypes of the horse, according to the Chinese, were (1) an animal with one horn on its head, like a unicorn, and two more sticking up on its back; and (2) the dragon horse, a still more weird creature, having the Eight Diagrams stamped upon its ribs. Even when we get away from the purely legendary, there remains a confused mixture of truth and nonsense in what Chinese writers have to tell us. It is said to be desirable to keep a monkey in a stable; in such cases horses become less timid. The age of a horse, even up to thirty-two, is usually told by its teeth; but the Tartars can also tell from its eye, which, when the animal is full-grown, reflects the entire body of a man, but in middle life can only reflect half the body, and in old age nothing beyond the face. Then we are informed that when its saddle is taken off, the horse should face north. It should not be allowed to drink dirty water; this makes its coat dull. The "points" of a horse are thirty-two in number, of which the eye ranks first in importance. It should be 似垂鈴 like a hanging bell, and of a fresh 紫 reddish purple colour. The head and face come next; these should be "square and round." But after all, it is admitted that there is nothing like pedigree, without reference to which the appraiser 似盲人信步行 is just like a blind man walking at random.

## IN SELF-DEFENCE

LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF "THE IMPERIAL AND ASIATIC QUARTERLY  
REVIEW" ON THE CHINESE "TAXI-CAB"

*Published July, 1909.*

[The words in brackets represent the wording of the original letter, omitted or altered by the Editor, presumably to soften the blow to a lavish purveyor of "copy."]

SIR,

In the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly*, Professor E. H. Parker, of the University of Manchester, accuses me [in no measured terms] of having taken the credit of discovering the Chinese "taxi-cab," which credit, he seems to think, should properly be divided between (1) Professor Hirth, (2) himself, (3) Professor Chavannes, and (4) the late Dr. Chalmers. May I be allowed to point out that I have never either said or written a word which in any way justifies this statement [accusation], although, as I hope to make clear, such a claim might not be altogether unjustifiable.

1. On p. 380 Professor Parker says:

My colleague, Professor F. Hirth, of Columbia University, New York, even mentions the "taxi-cab" with its cog-wheels and diameters in A.D. 806. (See "Ancient History of China," pp. 126—136, for a summing up.)

In reply to this I beg to state not only that there is no such allusion anywhere in the work quoted, but also that I have received the following denial from Professor Hirth himself:

I am not aware that I ever wrote a line on the subject, either in my notes on the Mariner's Compass ("The Ancient History of China," pp. 126—136) or elsewhere.

2. Professor Parker proceeds to say:

In the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1906 (vol. XXXVII., p. 179 *sic*) I made specific allusion to both the *Ki-li Ch'ē* (recording-miles cart), and the *Ki-li Ku-ch'ē* (recording-miles drum cart), the Chinese characters for which are given, and which, it is there clearly pointed out, differed considerably from the south-pointer.

Here are Professor Parker's actual words, which he [wisely] refrains from reproducing:

In 815 a new "south-pointing chariot" 指南車 was constructed 新造 in order to mark the distance and time 記里鼓: it is evident this was no compass. But in 820 there is a second notice which seems to suggest two separate instruments 修指南車記里鼓車.

Such is the whole of Professor Parker's own contribution to the subject in 1906, from which it is chiefly apparent that he then thought the "south-pointing chariot" and the "measure-mile drum-carriage" were one and the same "instrument," a mistake which he now passes [vainly tries to slur] over.

3. On p. 381 Professor Parker continues as follows:

The drum-cart.... figures in several plates of Professor Chavannes' interesting work 'La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine.'

Here is Professor Chavannes' view, conveyed in a letter which I have recently received from him:

Sur un des bas-reliefs du Hiao T'ang chan ("Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine," planche XXXVI.), on voit un char où sont assis quatre musiciens; au centre du char, une poutre soutient un tambour sur lequel deux hommes frappent à

coups redoublés; mais je ne crois pas que ce char ait rien de commun avec le "Taxi-cab."

4. It is quite true that Dr. Chalmers wrote the few lines which Professor Parker quotes, and which I now reproduce:

Next (i. e., to the south-pointing chariot) followed another machine of similar construction, drawn by four horses, in which a wooden man beat a drum every time a mile of road was gone over. [The sketch given by Dr. Chalmers refers only to the south-pointing chariot, though Professor Parker would make it appear to refer to the "taxi-cab."]

I may be allowed to add that these words were written in 1891, and therefore fifteen years before Professor Parker makes his "discovery." This passage does not seem to me to be very exhaustive of the subject, but if Professor Parker considers that it is so, one naturally asks why he made no acknowledgment of it in his own note of 1906. He now declares that

The matter has already at intervals for twenty years past been thrashed out, so far as it is possible to thrash it out.

However that may be, in the autumn of 1908 I ventured to make a full translation of the most important passages in Chinese history dealing with the "taxi-cab," which passages *had never been translated before by any one*. I then handed that portion containing an actual "specification" to Professor Hopkinson, who finally succeeded in setting up the "taxi-cab" as a working model. This was mentioned in the *Times* of January 22; and in the Engineering Supplement of the same paper, dated February 17, the specification was printed, and a photograph of the "taxi-cab" reproduced. The specification was also printed, together with other selected passages, and published in *Adversaria Sinica*, No. 7, on February 1, 1909, two months before the appearance of Professor Parker's article, and his translations. On consideration of the above, I might fairly claim, if I wanted

to claim anything, to have established for the first time, with the important assistance of Professor Hopkinson, the interesting fact that the official account of the Chinese "taxi-cab," under date A.D. 1027, is not a fanciful description of an imaginary vehicle, but of one that will actually work.

HERBERT A. GILES.,

*Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge.*

SELWYN GARDENS,

CAMBRIDGE,

May 18, 1909.

What motive Professor Parker can have had for concocting the spiteful accusation disposed of as above, I do not pretend to say. It has been suggested to me that he was overwhelmed by chagrin at not having made better use of his own opportunities in 1906. However this may be, I think he would have played a more generous part if he had sunk his private feelings and joined with me in exulting that the accuracy of ancient Chinese records had been so triumphantly vindicated by Professor Hopkinson.

CAMBRIDGE,

H. A. G.

7th July, 1909.

In a further short note, published in the *Asiatic Quarterly* for October, Professor Parker neither defends nor apologises for the gross mis-statements of which he was guilty. He contents himself with calling me a "bellicose *littérateur*," apparently because I am like the "naughty animal" of the French zoologist, — "which when attacked, defends itself."

## EARTHQUAKES

It would indeed be surprising to find that the Chinese had never turned their attention to earthquakes, and it is no less surprising to find how far their investigations have been carried. As usual with all such important topics, there is quite a literature of the subject, from which the late P. Hoang, S. J., extracted and published a full chronological *Catalogue des Tremblements de terre signalés en Chine*. To begin with, earthquakes have always been recorded, from the earliest yes down to recent times; and they have been variously ascribed to the four elements metal, wood, water, and fire, being out of harmony with the fifth element, earth; also, more recently, to the male principle in nature failing to maintain that due proportion with the female principle which ensures a proper equilibrium in the universe. To their occurrence have been ascribed the subsequent deaths of rulers and other national calamities. Leaving out of the question the mythical, the legendary, and even the partly-historical periods, we may say that China's first recorded earthquake took place in B. C. 780. Of this phenomenon we are only told that the three rivers 湟 Ching, 渭 Wei and 洛 Lo, quaked as well as the earth; in other cases, we often read of rivers flowing backwards.

China has had her Lisbons, her San Franciscos, and her Messinas. In B. C. 70, there was a violent earthquake which extended over a large area from Honan eastwards, and destroyed many cities and towns, with a loss of over six thousand lives,—a huge number,

considering how small, comparatively, is the crushing power of Chinese houses. Earthquakes are recorded in B. C. 26 and B. C. 7, in which it is stated that the death-roll amounted to only 12 and 415, respectively; and generally speaking, loss of life seems to be rather unusual than otherwise. In A. D. 1141, there was such a severe earthquake that the Emperor remitted all taxes for one year, and the dead—no number is given—having in many instances no one to bury them, were buried at the public expense. In 1196, on the occurrence of a similar catastrophe, a year's taxes were remitted to all families who had three persons killed, or two killed and some injured; an allowance of five thousand *cash* was further made in cases of death, and of three thousand to the injured. Two to three thousand deaths were reported. In 1306, there were two earthquakes. The first was unusually protracted, 地震不止 “the earth quaked without ceasing;” and by the second, great damage was done, an Imperial lady was crushed to death, and over five thousand other persons killed. The above examples are taken at random from a long list of such catastrophes; in many cases, we read of the earth riven asunder, and it is often noted that the earthquake 有聲如雷 “was accompanied with a noise like thunder.” Chang Hêng (*see* Biog. Dict.), the famous astronomer and mathematician who flourished A. D. 78—139 and re-invented the “south-pointing chariot,” was the constructor of many ingenious contrivances, such as the bird in whose body there was fitted a mechanism which enabled it to fly for several *li*. Among other things he made a 候風, which is not explained but must of course be the weathercock, known in the book-language as 偃. According to the 後漢書 *Hou han shu*, he also constructed a 地動儀 device for telling the direction in which an earthquake may be occurring, described as follows. “From pure copper he cast a circular vessel with a bulging cover, eight feet in diameter and shaped like a 莖 wine-cup. He embellished this with script in the greater seal style, with mountains, tortoises, birds, and beasts. In

the middle there was an elegant pillar from which the eight points of the horizon were indicated by markings. On the outside there were eight dragons holding in their jaws copper pellets, and below them were frogs with gaping mouths to catch the pellets. The clever contrivance on which the working depended was concealed inside, the cover being fixed on tightly without the smallest crack through which anything could be seen. In the event of an earthquake, the instrument shakes a dragon, the mechanism of which causes a pellet to be discharged and to be caught by the frog beneath, this operation being accompanied by a shrill sound which attracts the attention of those in charge. Of the eight dragons only one discharges its pellet, and the point at which it is discharged indicates with unfailing accuracy the direction in which the earthquake has occurred. Nothing like this has ever been recorded in writing. On one occasion, a dragon discharged its pellet, but there was no sign of any earthquake; and much astonishment was expressed at this failure of the instrument. However, a few days later, news reached the capital that an earthquake had actually taken place in Kansuh."

## SMALL FEET

At a meeting of the China Society on the 19th January, 1911, convened for the purpose of hearing a paper by Mrs. Little on the progress of anti-footbinding, some old beliefs, which I innocently fancied had gone the way of many other old beliefs, were brought out and gravely aired, apparently to the satisfaction of some who I should have thought would have been better informed. I am now referring entirely to the discussion which followed the lecture, the point in question not having been raised by Mrs. Little herself. Accepting the report in the *L. & C. Telegraph* of 23rd January, we read, "Dr. Cantlie asked why Chinese women began to bind their feet," and proceeded to say that in his opinion "the origin of the custom might have something to do with getting a husband," adding that, "perhaps one of the reasons why the custom was encouraged was that it prevented women from walking about and thus from doing men's work."

The Rev. George Owen, Professor of Chinese at King's College, re-inforced a portion of Dr. Cantlie's opinion by the following quotation from some source not mentioned: "We bind our women's feet layer upon layer to cripple her, that she may not go a-gadding." He added that "there was much lying behind that. The Chinese custom of small feet kept a woman at home; they did not want her to go beyond the precincts of home." There is indeed "much lying" to be found in connexion with this as with many other Chinese customs; for instance "swallowing gold" (see p. 185), infanticide, etc. Mr. Diósy repeated the well-worn and quite inaccurate statement that "small feet were a mark of gentility in China," but

no one seemed to mind, though several of those present must have seen peasant-women working in the field with bound feet, and possibly too have heard of the damsels of the 前門外. One more suggestion which has been made, on no grounds of any kind, which was not mentioned at the meeting, is that foot-binding has some effect upon child-bearing, but what that effect may be has not been clearly stated.

As to the date at which bound feet became fashionable, nothing is definitely known; and this fact is greatly in favour of what I believe to be the true explanation of the custom, to which we shall shortly come. The 10th century is usually accepted as the earliest date, but there are cogent reasons for the view that women's feet were bound long before that. There is a passage in the 史記 *Shih chi* (§ 129), and another in the 前漢書 *Ch'ien han shu*, which have frequently been quoted in this connexion, although there does not seem to be anything in either beyond an allusion to girls dancing in 利屣 pointed shoes. The text in both cases is not beyond reproach; e. g. 纏 has been substituted for 跖, which of course simplifies things immensely.

The following words, however, quoted from the 雜事秘辛 *Tsa shih pi hsin*, and referring to the feet of a lady who lived about A. D. 150, are nearer the mark: 底平指歛約繚迫祫收束微如禁中 "the sole of the foot was flat (i. e. not a "new moon" foot), and the toes were kept close together, being bound round by strong silk bandages which made them small, after the custom in the Palace." One thing is quite certain: small feet, bound or natural, and also small waists, have always been much admired in China. When 姜嫄 Chiang Yüan, in the 25th cent. B. C., stepped in a footprint of God, and conceived and bore a son without travail,— the nearest approach to parthogenesis recorded by the Chinese,— it is said that 足不能滿其拇指之處 her whole foot could not fill even the big toe.

We may of course take this to indicate only the large size of God's

foot, but for the justification we derive from many passages scattered through Chinese literature which particularly dwell upon the smallness of women's feet. Poets tell us that their "airy tread" leaves no mark behind in the dust, no injury to trampled flowers, and no scars upon the traversed moss.

The original intention, however, in binding women's feet, as I learned many years ago, was not merely to make them small. The real reason was a sensual one; it was to make the thigh large, and there is not the shadow of a doubt that it has this effect. Professor Macalister, to whom I referred the point, informed me that a woman with bound feet would, by the act of walking, increase the size of the thighs; because in addition to supporting the weight of the body, there would be an extra strain on the femoral muscles, due to an extra necessity of preserving equilibrium. How the Chinese gained a knowledge of this anatomical fact, it is quite impossible to say. It may be that moderate compression of the feet, in order to make them look small, may gradually have led up to the cruel practice of to-day; in any case, this theory better explains (1) ignorance of the origin of this custom, and (2) its persistence even through an Imperial prohibition of four years' duration (1664—1668), than any such trumpery suggestion as a desire to keep women at home, which by the way it quite fails to accomplish. This last suggestion, it must be remembered, is not of foreign concoction; it is set forth at length in Chinese literature, *e. g.* in the 邶女記 *Lang hsüan chi*.

## CHINESE BRONZES

In the South Kensington Museum there reposes an ancient Chinese bronze bowl,—if such a term as bowl may be properly applied to the broad-lipped shallow vessel in question, known to the Chinese as a ~~fan~~ platter,—which carries on its inside face a long inscription in an early form of writing. This bowl has been the subject of much discussion, in reference to its antiquity, with such names as Chavannes, Pelliot, and Vissière, on one side, and Bushell, Parker, and Hopkins, on the other. The two last-mentioned defend Dr. Bushell's attribution of this bowl and its inscription to the 7th century B. C.; the three French sinologues unite in attacking this position, and also to some extent the genuineness of the bowl as a relic of what we may fairly call the extreme limit of the historical period in China. Dr. Bushell is said to have acquired the bowl in Peking, from the collection of Prince I, about the year 1870; and in 1874 he sold it to the Museum for £80. In vol. I of his "Chinese Art," he subsequently provided a very defective translation of the inscription; and in 1905 MM. Chavannes and Pelliot published opinions adverse to the genuineness of the bowl. Parker first comes on the scene in 1908 (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1909), when he gets a dim view of the bowl through its glass case in the Museum. He then persuades the Museum authorities to take a photograph of the inscription, and to forward copies to five persons named by him as being competent and likely to render assistance in the matter, explaining that he wished to compare their decipherments with his own, for which, by the way, I understand he is indebted to Kuroita

and others. I am not astonished that I was not one of the elect; it is a fact, however, which I am constrained to mention, lest people might think I was among the four who shirked.

The result of this move is instructive. Of the five persons thus consulted, only one took any notice of the application, namely Professor Chavannes, whom Parker had rightly "placed at the head of the list for competency," as being "in many respects distinctly at the head of living sinologists, etc., etc." Professor Chavannes, however, replied that "he considered the bowl to be *un faux*, and further that in the opinion of himself and M. Pelliot the *monument* was *pas authentique* and *suspect*."

Professor Parker's next step was to commit the forensic blunder of discrediting his own witness, proceeding forthwith to "convict" Professor Chavannes "(1) of not having studied originals, and (2) of having come to a decision affecting the late Dr. Bushell's sagacity, which is neither judicious nor judicial, etc., etc.," the whole forming a quaint tag to his unstinted eulogy on "the head of living sinologists." Similarly, Parker again rightly says that "in matters of Chinese epigraphy M. Pelliot's opinion is, of course, of as high value as his own is worthless;" and again it will be found that M. Pelliot takes an exactly opposite view to that of Professor Parker. Finally, we come to "that exceedingly sound and enterprising sinologist, M. Vissière," who will doubtless be much gratified at being thus patronisingly patted on the back, but who, after an interval of four years, arrays himself uncompromisingly on the side of MM. Chavannes and Pelliot. At this further rebuff, Parker breaks out into hysterical astonishment at M. Vissière's want of the logical faculty, just as previously (p. 132), in order to strengthen his case against the French sinologues, he had instituted an extremely offensive comparison between the judicial systems of Great Britain and France.

The strongest argument which has so far been set forth against the genuineness of the bowl is the simple fact that no mention is

made of it and of its inscription in any of the carefully-compiled works of Chinese archaeologists; as Professor Chavannes says,

la chose est d'autant plus surprenante que, si cette inscription était authentique, elle apporterait de précieux renseignements sur un événement important qui ne nous est raconté que fort brièvement dans le Tso-tchouan.

M. Pelliot points out that inscriptions on ancient bronzes have always been very carefully

recueillies, déchiffrées, commentées par les archéologues chinois. Celle-ci est d'une longueur tout-à-fait inusitée (over 500 characters), et n'en eût dû susciter qu'une curiosité plus ardente. D'autre part, une pièce figurant dans les collections des princes de Yi n'a pu être ignorée des antiquaires de Pékin.

M. Vissière asks,

Comment admettre qu'une pièce aussi importante n'ait été signalée dans aucun ouvrage archéologique chinois?

To this argument it is difficult to find an effective reply. Dr. Kuroita, who appears to have provided Parker with his first transcription into modern characters of the ancient text on the bowl, is entirely guarded in his utterances; he says, "This bowl looks to me a very fine and well-preserved piece; its design shows the style of the later Chou dynasty,"— with other inconclusive remarks of the kind. Parker himself, after disposing of his French opponents, alludes to "the quality and temper of the metal, the deep incision of the characters, and the traces of the stolen gold still remaining inside those incisions;" but as he admittedly never made a close personal inspection of the bowl, these are facts for which he must have trusted to his imagination. Still, he has no hesitation in saying (p. 137), "I am now most profoundly convinced that the bowl is absolutely genuine." He also falls back on Mr. Hopkins, who, he says, "about ten years ago once induced the Museum authorities

to take out the bowl from its case and to show it to him in the brightest light," the result being that Mr. Hopkins, for no reasons given, "feels absolutely sure of its genuineness."

The various Chinese officials and others, approached by Parker for an opinion, do not help him much; e.g., the Minister at Rome went so far as to say that "as this bowl has been preserved by a gentleman of such repute as Dr. Bushell, certainly it is an object of great value." *Mutato nomine*, the wax bust of "Flora" is thus decided once and for all to be the veritable handiwork of Leonardo da Vinci, "as it has been preserved by a gentleman of such repute as Dr. Bode." Parker's final step was to publish in vol. X of the *T'oung pao* a full, not to say laboured, statement of his case, together with facsimile and translation of the inscription.

Such was the state of affairs when in 1909 I paid a visit to the Museum, and spent a long time inspecting the bowl, which, thanks to the courtesy of Mr. G. Koop, was removed from its glass case, where examination of any kind is impossible, and was placed in a private room for my convenience. I found the bowl and inscription covered with a thickish layer of hard black varnish-enamel, which Bushell wrongly calls a "patina," the latter being, strictly speaking, an incrustation produced by oxidation, usually of a green colour. In some places, where this enamel had recently been broken away over the inscription, the incised metal was bright, as though the enamel had been laid on immediately after the cutting and had thus preserved the brightness. With a strong lens I was quite unable to detect any traces of gold filling; nor did it appear to me that inlaying would have been practicable with such incisions as there were.

It then occurred to me that this process of enamelling, especially to cover an inscription, was altogether unusual in the case of really old bronzes, and that it may well have been carried out to conceal the fact that the bowl and its inscription were not contemporaneous productions. Two specimens in my possession, both of undoubted antiquity, and one of which is here figured, are simply the un-

enamelled metal as it came from the caster's, without addition of any kind. The latter shows a man (with right leg missing) riding on the fabulous animal known as the *ch'i lin* (or *kilin*). Its height



is exactly 1 ft., and its weight is 5 lb. 6 oz. I also give a photograph of another and very beautiful bronze, which is obviously not of great antiquity; height  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches, weight 3 lb.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  oz. It represents a man grievously weighed down by a very shallow tray which he

bears over his head and shoulders; and it was a long time before I knew the inner meaning of this symbolism. Ultimately, I came across it in the *圖書集成* *T'u shu chi ch'eng* (考工, § 198). It appears to have been a wine cup called 豐 *fēng*, from the name



of a kingdom, the ruler of which lost his throne through drunkenness. The ruler himself is weighed down by the tray, the shallowness of which suggests moderation in liquor.

To return to the famous bowl, and its inscription, which was very

much misrendered by Dr. Bushell, in common with other Chinese inscriptions in the same work, already cited, for which see *ante*, p. 139. The new translation published by Professor Parker, as before stated, is supposed by him to be a great advance on Dr. Bushell's, though in many respects it is actually worse. Borrowing a phrase from Professor Chavannes, the time occupied in chopping up Parker's work piecemeal would certainly be *mal employé*; but I can find time and space at any rate for one example, which is truly characteristic of Parker as a translator of Chinese texts, and equal to any of the absurd renderings with which he used to decorate the *China Review* and other periodicals. In his *Asiatic Quarterly* article he says, "All I profess is to be able to decipher most ancient texts when I see them;" but even were this claim conceded (with the efficient help of Dr. Kuroita and others), what shall it avail him if, when deciphered, he cannot translate them? According to Parker,

the king said, Alas! In the past times of Li, Sūan, and Yu, down to P'ing and Hwan, it was like fording a river, banks and fear being equally absent, so that those crossing tumbled into deep places, and our royal house lost its tranquillity along with them.

A maxim which I have always endeavoured to impress upon my pupils, and would recommend for the consideration of Professor Parker, runs thus: "If your translation fails to make sense, reject it at once;" for surely the words I have here italicised contain a rendering too preposterous for serious consideration. The text of the italicised portion is

若涉洪川其靡涯懼遂墜于淵宅

and to squeeze out "banks and fear being equally absent," it is necessary to punctuate after *chū* (the 8th character), whereas the true punctuation comes before *chū*. The translation then runs easily enough,

Like fording a vast river, with no bank in sight, fearing (all the time) to fall into some deep hole.

Parker provides his version with a heap of often unnecessary notes; but when a note is especially wanted, as in the case of 遂, wrongly taken by him in its conjunctival sense,—silence. However, he sins in good company. Nothing is more common among annotators of the Greek and Latin classics than to shed an over-abundance of their light upon the simpler phrases of a passage, and to skip noiselessly the real crux which is exercising the mind of the reader. Dr. Bushell slipped into a similar, if not quite so grotesque an error. He has “crossing flooded waters, as it were, without reverence and awe, they were again in danger of falling into the deep abyss.” Meanwhile, a moderate acquaintance with the 書經 Book of History would have saved Parker at any rate from one of the deep abysses into which he has here incontinently fallen.

At this point, in order to form an opinion based on something more than mere guesswork, I began to read up what Chinese archaeologists had written on the subject, not of this bowl in particular, but of bronzes in general. Among other works I looked into the 軒耕錄 *Cho keng lu*, in which the 洞天清錄 *Tung t'ien ch'ing lu* by 趙希鵠 Chao Hsi-ku of the 13th century is freely quoted. The following passages from the latter work, given in the *T'u shu chi ch'eng* and now translated for the first time, will perhaps be found of interest even if they do not settle the vexed question of the bowl.

There is one point, however, also raised by Mr. Laufer in an interesting note on p. 259 of his “Chinese Pottery of the Han dynasty” (*see post*), which may well claim attention here, and that is the composition of bronze, as employed by the Chinese for casting sacrificial and other vessels. It appears that Babylonian bronze was an alloy of 90 parts copper to 10 parts tin, which is uniform with that of European bronze and of old Siberian bronzes, and also, according to Mr. John Anderson, with that of “a curious bronze implement from Yünnan Province.” Now in the 天工開物 *T'ien kung k'ai wu* we read first of all of an alloy of 10 parts

copper and 6 parts 甘石 zinc; and then of the substitution of 倭鉛 Japanese lead for the zinc, in consequence of the clouds of injurious smoke given off by the latter, the proportion being 6 parts copper to 4 parts lead. This alloy yielded what the Chinese call 黃銅 = brass. The bronze used for 韶器 sounding articles, such as gongs, drums, etc., was composed, we are told, of 8 parts 紅銅 pure copper to 2 parts 錫 tin, more highly refined copper and tin (in the same proportion) being used for cymbals. Low-class alloys were composed of copper and Japanese lead in equal parts, the very lowest containing 6 parts lead to only 4 parts copper. We may now proceed to examine the translated extracts.

The Hsia dynasty (B. C. 2205—1766) valued fidelity; the Shang dynasty (B. C. 1766—1122) valued substantiality; the Chou dynasty (1122—255) valued ornamentation. These characteristics also appeared in the crafts of each dynasty. Under the Shang dynasty, the various articles in use were simple in form and without ornamentation; while under the Chou dynasty, they were finely and lavishly engraved. This may be regarded as the invariable rule. Articles produced under the Hsia dynasty stand in a class by themselves. I have seen a bronze spear of the latter dynasty 相嵌以金 inlaid with gold, the lines being as fine as hairs; and this is common to all its productions. Lapse of time causes the gold to fall out and leave hollows where the ornamentation has been incised. Inlaying is now commonly but erroneously regarded as the art of the Shang dynasty; but in the *Odes* occur these words,

### 追琢其章，金玉其相

Engraved and chiselled are the ornaments (of King Wén),  
Of metal and of jade is their substance.

Such is Legge's rendering of the couplet, and though "polished" may be preferred to "chiselled" and "insignia" to ornaments, there seems to be no radical fault of interpretation. If so, it is difficult to see where the proof of inlaying under the Chou dynasty comes in. Referring to our bowl, Dr. Bushell says, "The inscription inside would appear once to have been overlaid with beaten gold."

Bronzes which have been lying in the earth for many centuries, acquire a pure blue colour like that of the kingfisher. During the twelve hours

before noon, this hue is somewhat dull; but under post-meridian influences, the kingfisher-tint becomes so glossy that it seems like to drip. Here and there the earth has eaten into the metal, forming holes or abrasions, very like the track of a snail. If there are marks of cutting or boring, the article is a fake. Bronzes which have been lying in water for a long period, will acquire a pure green colour, lustrous like jade. A shorter period will produce the green colour, but not the lustre. As to holes etc., the same remarks apply as above. It is customary for people nowadays to regard light specimens of these two classes as veritable antiques, ignoring the fact that bronzes which were originally large and thick do not become thus attenuated, but lose only about one-third or one-half of their weight; whereas small and thin bronzes would naturally yield more quickly to the action of earth and water. With regard to cuts from hoes or broken places, where there is no sign of bronze colour, the blue or the green, as the case may be, having penetrated to the very bones of the specimen; or where possibly there may be in the middle a faint streak of red, like red lead, the article all the same retaining the sound of bronze, such a piece is an antique which has not been immersed in water, but has been passed from collector to collector. The colour is that of dark red serge, with red streaks, sometimes in relief, or like the best cinnabar. Placed in a kettle and boiled for a long time in water, the streaks will be still more apparent. Fakes, which are worked up with varnish and vermillion, are thus easily detected.

The three classes of bronze (Hsia, Shang, and Chou) are all devoid of any frowzy smell; but when newly removed from old sites, they carry with them an earthy smell, which passes off after some little time. In the case of fakes, if warmed and well rubbed with the palm of the hand, they will give off a strong frowzy smell of bronze, which is very disagreeable. Under the Hsia dynasty, the form of script used was the 鳥跡 "bird-track seal;" under the Shang, it was the 虫魚 "insect (including reptiles) and fish seal." The Chou dynasty used the latter, and also the "greater seal;" the Ch'in dynasty (B.C. 255—206) used the "greater and lesser seals;" the Han dynasty (B.C. 206—A.D. 221) used the "lesser seal" and the 矢書 *li* script; the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 221—265) used the *li* script; from the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265) and the Liu Sung dynasty (A.D. 420) onwards, the "clerkly" style was in vogue; and this, together with the *li* script, was used under the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618—907). Under the three early dynasties, inscriptions were cast in intaglio, and the script was called 儂鑄 *yen nang*, the characters being below the surface of the metal. From the Han dynasty onwards, the inscriptions were either in rilievo, the characters projecting above the surface of the metal, with some intaglio characters among them, or they were incised

with tools, as in the case of inscriptions on stone tablets; for it is extremely difficult to cast bronzes with intaglio inscriptions, whereas it is easy to produce inscriptions in rilievo, the latter being a sure proof that the bronze in question is not a genuine antique.

Now here we have a definite statement that under the Chou dynasty "inscriptions were cast in intaglio." The inscription upon our Museum bowl was clearly "incised with tools."

Inscriptions in seal character, both 許 *chih*<sup>4</sup> and 許 *k'uan*<sup>3</sup>, are used to record merit. The *k'uan*<sup>3</sup> style, as seen on bells and 鼎 caldrons, is an ornamental form in rilievo. In the case of antiques, the *k'uan*<sup>3</sup> inscription is on the outside and in rilievo; the *chih*<sup>4</sup> inscription is inside and in intaglio. Articles of the Hsia and Chou dynasties have both *k'uan*<sup>3</sup> and *chih*<sup>4</sup>; articles of the Shang dynasty are mostly without *k'uan*<sup>3</sup> but have *chih*<sup>4</sup>.

The work of the ancients was characterised by its fineness. The craftsman occupied one of the four divisions of the people (*viz.* officials, agriculturists, craftsmen, and merchants); and people did not then, as in later ages, look down upon his achievements. Consequently, the *k'uan*<sup>3</sup> inscriptions on antiques were fine as hairs, uniform, and clear, without a trace of indistinctness. The brush-strokes of the *chih*<sup>4</sup> inscriptions were 穩 穩 curved like 仰 玉 upturned tiles, uniformly large, small, deep, or shallow, clean and clear, without a trace of indistinctness. This was because (1) the metal employed was of the finest, and entirely free from grit; (2) the craftsman was highly skilled; (3) no pains were spared, and time was no object. Therefore, whenever "old" bronzes carry inscriptions (either *k'uan*<sup>3</sup> or *chih*<sup>4</sup>) which are in the slightest degree indistinct, they are beyond all doubt fakes, and will be further found to be wanting in the proper colour and smell. The ancients, when casting, always began by making a wax model, on which they placed an inscription, or engraved ornaments. They then took a small bucket, rather larger and wider than the model, and set the latter therein. Cracks were left at the bottom of the bucket, for draining purposes. Next, well-strained mud was mixed with water to the consistency of thin rice-gruel, and with this the model was watered daily, each coat being allowed to dry before the second was applied, until the bucket was full and the whole model covered. When this was done, the staves of the bucket were removed, and an application of fine clay, with plenty of salt, and fibre of paper, was quickly and firmly applied to the outside of the original layer of mud, together with an extra application of two inches of clay, a hole being left in the middle for the liquid bronze to

enter. This method is not certain to yield success at the first attempt, which is the ideal result.

Bronzes from 句容 Chü-jung (in Kiangsu) are not to be ranked as antiques. For, from the T'ien-pao epoch (A. D. 742—756) of the T'ang dynasty down to the time of Hou Chu (d. 978) of the Southern T'ang, there was established at Chü-jung in 昇州 Shéng-chou (Kiangsu) an official foundry where castings were executed, and most of the articles turned out bore the signature of the Inspector.

Although, from the point of view of lightness, thinness, blackness, and fineness of inscription, these bronzes are very fascinating, yet as to the essential they are not antiques, properly so called. Time does impart a faint blueness to some of them; and of all known specimens, the large phoenix vases, with ring handles, are the finest.

Imitation antiques in bronze are made by mixing quicksilver with tin, producing the compound now used for backing looking-glasses, and spreading this uniformly over a new bronze. Then, strong vinegar mixed with finely-powdered granite is evenly painted on with a brush, and the bronze is allowed to stand until it becomes the colour of wax or tea, when it is quickly plunged into fresh-drawn water and kept there to soak until the wax-tea colour is set. It is then allowed to stand until it becomes the colour of varnish (dark brown), when it is again quickly plunged into fresh-drawn water and kept there to soak until the varnish-colour is set. A further short soaking will effect the change of colour required. If not put into water, the bronze will take on a pure kingfisher-blue. In all three cases, the article must be rubbed with a new cloth to make it bright. The smell of the bronze is entirely absorbed by the quicksilver, and cannot make itself noticeable. On the other hand, the sound of old bronzes is ringing and clear, while new bronzes sound heavy and dull, and cannot fail to be detected by the connoisseur. When old bronzes have been a long time in the earth, they absorb a certain earthiness, to such an extent that, if used for growing plants, the flowers will be unusually fresh and bright, blossoming early and fading late, or actually bearing fruit in the vase. Such, too, is said to be the effect of rust from water. Pottery which has lain long in the earth is also said to possess this characteristic.

Old bronzes are mostly able to ward off evil influences, and should be kept in all establishments. The spirits of hills and trees owe their power to lapse of time; and by parity of reasoning, it is lapse of time which makes bells and caldrons of the earliest ages fitted to resist such influences. Fan Chung-yen (A. D. 989—1052) had in his family an old mirror, on the back of which were the twelve two-hour periods of the day, like the pips used in playing *wei-ch'i*; and as each of these in turn denoted the

hour of the day, it became bright as the moon, and so on, without fail. There was another gentleman who possessed a twelve-hour bell, which always sounded automatically as each period of two hours was reached. Does not this prove that ancient bronzes are endowed with supernatural powers?

Officials in ancient days always carried a seal, through which the girdle passed. Consequently, at the top of the seal there was a hole in which it was usual to insert a bronze ring. Under the Han dynasty, these seals usually contained five characters; and as it was not then customary to equalise the two sides by ornamentation or otherwise, there would be three characters on the left and two on the right, or *vice versa*. In the case of four-character seals, if the strokes to a character were many, the space occupied by such character would be large; and if few, it would be small. This was the practice before the Five Dynasties (A.D. 907—960), but is so no longer.

The ancients added inside inscriptions (*chih*<sup>4</sup>) only to bells, caldrons, and sacrificial vessels, which were cast in honour of merit or for the glorification of virtue; also to ~~盤~~ platters or bowls which ~~寓戒~~ carried some moral. But though other articles may not have *chih*<sup>4</sup> inscriptions, it must not be hastily concluded that they are not antiques. Their material and their *k'uan*<sup>3</sup> inscriptions must be examined, and also their colour and smell; there will then be no further doubt.

Our "bowl," which is of course a "platter," as above, can scarcely be said to carry a moral.

The two following paragraphs should be read in connexion with Mr. Laufer's remarks on the same subject (*op. cit.* see p. 303, pp. 92—103). They hardly bear out his account of the *tiao tou*, as figured on Plate XXI, No. 1.

The **字書** *Tzü shu* says that the **刀斗** *tiao tou* was a saucepan used on a campaign, for cooking by day and as a watchman's rattle by night. Now the old *tiao tou* which are seen in these days have a handle 4.5 feet in length and a bowl which at the outside would hold only **勺合** *shao ko* a very small quantity; it may therefore have been struck, but not used for cooking. These *tiao tou* were cast at the time of Wang Mang, the Usurper (A.D. 9—23), and were in use in the family of **威斗** **厭勝** *Wei-tou* *Yen-shéng*. If they bear engraved upon them the words "Commander of the Second Division," together with other official designations,—that is a proof that they are fakes. The *tiao tou* was probably

like the 養子 *tiao tzü*, which has a handle and will cook enough food for one man; in fact, the latter name may be a corruption of the former. The *Tzü shu* says that the 養 *tiao* is an agricultural implement, which one might guess without being told. The 養斗 *chiao tou* is also like the modern ladle with its handle, except that the former has three feet. I saw one, and examined its material and colour; it was really a genuine article of the earliest ages.

The 斧 *tiao* and the 養 *chiao* both have handles, hence they are called 斗 saucepans (or ladles); the former has no feet, the latter has three feet. Again, the *Tzü shu* says that the *chiao* was a vessel for warming up food, the reason being that the 鼎 *ting* caldron, formerly used for cooking, was large and difficult to heat. Nowadays, the *chiao* will serve for one or two men. Those I have seen are in keeping with this view.

The moment I saw the 鼎 *ting* caldron of the Marquis T'ao of the Han State, which holds about a modern peck, I knew it to belong to the earliest ages. There have, however, been specimens in recent times of old *ting*, holding no more than a pint or half a pint, with inscriptions proving them to be genuine, which are also classified as *ting*. The *ting* was a vessel used for cooking on a large scale; but there were various vessels of different sizes, some used for already-cooked food, and others for sacrificial purposes, like in form to the *ting*, though not really *ting*; just as nowadays certain vessels used for food resemble 金釜 caldrons. [Technical names omitted.]

The next passage has been translated by Mr. Laufer (*op. cit.* p. 179), and with this we come to an end of the more interesting notes, in the course of which we have wandered somewhat from the subject in hand. This last item may perhaps be added.

A man of 道 Tao-chou recovered from the grave of the Marquis of 春陵 Chuang-ling an old mirror, on the back of which were four buds of the water-chestnut, very beautifully executed. The mirror was covered, back and front, with quicksilver, as now in use. Its colour was slightly dull, but not black; and there was no trace of blue or green at the parts which had been abraded or eaten away. This was beyond doubt an article of the W. Han dynasty (B.C. 206—A.D. 25); and although it had been in the ground for over 1,000 years, it had not changed as regards the character of the metal. From which it is clear that if old bronzes are of a blue-green colour at the parts above-mentioned, they cannot be other than specimens of the very earliest ages.

With regard to the "bowl" at the Museum, I gather from my own inspection of it, from a passing acquaintance with other bronzes, and from a careful perusal of the passages translated above,

- (1) that the bowl itself is of doubtful antiquity;
- (2) that the inscription was not cast with the bowl, as would have been the case with a genuine antique of the 7th century, B. C., but was incised later;
- (3) that the inscription when cut was covered at once with a varnish-enamel to conceal the fact mentioned in (2);
- (4) that the bowl and its inscription have never been noticed by Chinese archaeologists because it was known to be a fake, for which reason, too, it was readily allowed to slip, for a consideration, from the collection of the Imperial Prince who owned it;
- (5) that the argument against such a lengthy inscription is fully borne out by a comparison which I have made with scores of inscriptions on ancient bronzes; and finally
- (6) that MM. Chavannes, Pelliot and Vissière may be said to have gained the day.

## WHO WAS SI WANG MU?

[Continued from page 19]

Mr. A. B. Cook, the distinguished classical scholar and Reader in Archaeology to the University of Cambridge, authorises me to state that in his opinion the case for Hera is really very much stronger



than I made it in my note referred to above. He was much struck by the headdress and flowing hair of Si Wang Mu, and suggested

comparison with the head of Hera which is here reproduced. It is taken from an article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XXXI, pl. 2, by Professor Waldstein. Mr. Cook further drew attention to the panther, mentioned in connexion with Hera and with Si Wang Mu.

As regards the meaning of Si Wang Mu, Mr. Cook pointed out that Hera was worshipped in conjunction with Zeus Ammon at Siwah, an important town in Tripoli on the Egyptian frontier, and this would be an excellent identification, so far as sound goes, if there were no other difficulties in the way. Now the Chinese 婦 *Mu* lends itself readily to such an identification as Siwah, meaning primarily "mother," and by extension a title of honour applied to women. We have thus a term which may be compared with *πετνια* or *πετνια μητηρ*, as applied to Hera, and may fairly be rendered by "lady,"—the Lady of Siwah.

In my first note, groping blindly after some possible explanation of Si Wang Mu, I suggested that *Si* might possibly stand for the first syllable of Hera, in the same way that Professor Forke suggested *Se* in the Arabic *Seba* (*Sabaea*). These are philological gymnastics of a mild type compared with the recent identification of Si Wang Mu by Mr. E. Blochet, whose attempt to show that Fu-lin = Rome has been dealt with on p. 241. Mr. Blochet now carries us straight to Babylon, as follows:—Wang Mou = Ban-mou or Ban-bou = Barbou = Babrou = Babirou = Babilon = Babylone: to which add *Si* = Western Babylon, a place-name put for a person.

## ART THOU THE CHRIST?

[See pp. 27, 215]

The meaning of the picture to which the above heading refers, as already suggested by me, is now capable of further confirmation. Opponents of my view have said all along that the three figures in question are beyond doubt intended for Buddha, Confucius, and Lao Tzü. I will not repeat my arguments to show the absurdity of the contention; they have never been answered, and no attempt has been made to translate the legend attached otherwise than by "Three in One,"—the Trinity. Neither have I been able to discover any picture of Buddha at all resembling the figure in this picture, nor has anybody yet indicated the direction in which such a picture is to be found. Meanwhile, I have found in the 三才圖會 *San ts'ai t'u hui* a picture, here reproduced, in which one of the sixteen (or eighteen) Lo-han is said to be "bending three fingers and replying to a 胡人 barbarian of the west," whose general facial appearance is extraordinarily like that of the alleged Buddha. The term, *hu jen*, is one which has been used of several bearded nations, and in the 8th century certainly included all the foreigners who, we are told, thronged to the Court, and among others the Nestorians. This of course proves nothing, but it adds to the improbability of such a type being chosen to represent Shakyamuni Buddha, whose glorified portraits, according to Indian artists, had for so long been scattered broadcast all over the empire.



## 刀筆

The above two characters have stood, ever since the 7th cent. A. D., in native works of archaeological research for a knife-pen, or burin, with which in early ages characters were scratched on tablets of bamboo and wood; and it was always supposed that the books of those days consisted of collections of such tablets, strung together on a string. This view has recently been brought prominently forward by Mr. L. C. Hopkins, in an otherwise luminous discourse on the development of Chinese writing, read before the China Society and since published in pamphlet form.

Mr. Hopkins says (p. 5) that "the usual course was to cut characters on bamboo or wooden tablets with a metal 'style,' or as it was afterwards called, a 'knife-pen.'" In like manner Mr. E. von Zach, in one of his valuable critical pamphlets (*Kritische Miscellen*, p. 39), says that "刀筆 ist eine Anspielung auf die Messer, mit welchen im Altertume auf Bambus-tabletten geschrieben wurde."

There was published, however, in the *Journal Asiatique* (Janvier-Février, 1905) an article entitled "Les Livres Chinois avant l'Invention du Papier," in which Professor Chavannes added to his already brilliant achievements in sinology the discovery that the term in question has always, since the date above given, been completely misunderstood by native archaeologists and consequently by all who have followed in their tracks. Professor Chavannes there shows that the two Chinese words must not be taken together, as "knife-pen," but separately, as "knife and pen;" that is, the frayed pencil of wood for writing characters with a kind of ink, and the knife for scratching out mistakes,—an explanation fully borne out by Dr. M.

A. Stein's discoveries of ancient tablets or slips of wood on which characters had been so written.

A full *r  sum  * of Professor Chavannes' article from the pen of Professor E. H. Parker, appeared in the *Asiatic Quarterly*, but the acknowledgement made by the latter of his indebtedness to the real discoverer of this most interesting fact seemed to me very skimpy; in fact a casual reader might easily imagine that the whole credit belonged to Professor Parker and not to Professor Chavannes.

## NOTES ON BOOKS

*Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, by Berthold Laufer, is a beautifully illustrated and well-printed work, containing much that is interesting to the student. Its chief defect is inaccuracy of translation, which is indeed the commonest of all blemishes to be found in works dealing with China. Bushell's *Chinese Art*, satisfactory enough from the point of view of art, is most unsatisfactory from the point of view of translation. This is of course accounted for by the extreme difficulty of the Chinese written language, the long years of application required to secure even a moderate proficiency, and the absolute necessity of keeping exclusively to this one line of study. One of the earliest members of the Chinese Customs Service — of delightful personality — employed his leisure hours in seriously following up three distinct and difficult studies; namely, chess, Chinese, and the violin. It is superfluous to add that in all three lines, each of which demands the energies of a lifetime, he failed to rise above the level of respectable diletantism. Accordingly, it would certainly be desirable for a writer on art such as Mr. Laufer, who shows considerable competency in this direction, to submit his translations from the Chinese to some student who has devoted himself chiefly to the linguistic side of the question. Outside China it is impossible to have that ready recourse to a well-primed native scholar which makes translation an affair of minutes instead of hours; and it is beyond doubt that no one who has not served a long apprenticeship is capable of succeeding when left to his own resources. In this sense, Mr. Laufer's book requires complete revision, as may be gathered from the few specimens for which I can find room. On p. 88 will be found the following inscription:

黃帝所製	人造火續事始曰	漢李尤竈銘曰燧	於火死而爲竈後	淮南子曰炎帝王
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Mr. Laufer (p. 89) renders this easy passage by

*Huai Nan Tzü* says, 'Yen Ti ruled by virtue of fire, and when dying made kitchen ranges.' The *Tsao ming* of *Li yu* of the Later Han says, 'Sui jén created the fire, but the first to continue his work [by making kitchen ranges] was *Huang Ti*.'

The correct meaning is

*Huai-nan Tzü* says, 'Yen Ti ruled by virtue of fire, and at death became the God of the Kitchen.' The inscription on the kitchen-stove of *Li Yu* of the Later Han dynasty says, 'Sui Jén (first) made fire.' The *Hsü shih shih* (a book) says, 'It was (first) made by *Huang Ti*.'

On p. 187 will be found three Chinese words which have tripped up Mr. Laufer badly. They are 爐連蓋 *Lu lien kai*, translated by "stove or brazier with connected cover," the following note being added. "*Lien kai*, here rendered by 'connected cover,' is an untranslatable term, as *kai* may mean anything that covers." *Lien kai*, however, is common colloquial, and means nothing more than "with cover," that is, "stove or brazier, with cover."

On p. 197, we have 故以爲名, translated by "Therefore he gained celebrity," which should be "For this reason it was so named." Also, speaking of a seven-wheel fan, we read that it was 相連續一人運之 "attached to a man who turned it round." This comes from faulty punctuation. There is a stop at *hsü*, and the first three characters mean "joined together," referring to the previous text. Then comes a new sentence beginning. "One man turned it," — and kept the whole room cool.

On p. 255, we have 今之醉翁諸椅竹木間爲之, translated by, "The present *Tsui wéng* made chairs of bamboo and wood, but are all different;" and in a note Mr. Laufer says, "*Tsui wéng* is a sobriquet given to Ou-yang Hsiu (1007—1072), but whether he is meant in this case, or somebody else, seems doubtful." As a matter of fact, there is not the shadow of a doubt. *Tsui wéng* = Old drunkard, is the common colloquial name of a lounge chair in which to recline at almost full length, and the sentence means, "The modern *Tsui wéng* chairs are all made of either bamboo or wood."

On p. 255, we have 閣賓大狗大如驢赤色數里搖  
鞚以呼之, which Mr. Laufer translates by "the large dogs of *Ki pin* are as big as donkeys, of red color, and are called in several places *yao t'ao* (shaking a pedlar's drum)." The real meaning of this passage is, "the large dogs of Cashmere are as big as donkeys and of a bay colour. They can be called back from a distance of several *li* by sounding a pedlar's drum."

There is nothing to laugh at in mistakes such as these; those who laugh the loudest generally refrain from offering their own wares for public criticism. There are a good many other slips in Mr. Laufer's work; still, it is a contribution to the literature of Chinese pottery, of considerable scope and value. It further contains at least one valuable criticism, as follows (p. 236).

"Giles translates 獬 *suan* by 'a lion from Tibet,' though nothing in Chinese literature seems to corroborate such a statement; nor have there ever been, nor are there now, any lions in Tibet." Thanks to Mr. Laufer, this blunder will not be found in the 2nd edition of my Dictionary; meanwhile, it is interesting to note how it got into the first edition. So far as I am concerned, I may say at once that it was copied, with many other bad mistakes, from Williams' Dictionary. Williams had spent forty years in China as a professed student of the language; and on the strength of this, I committed the fatal error of not verifying all his entries. I have no excuse,

for I had been amply warned by the discovery of quite a string of mis-translations which I had myself noticed, and which I actually published in 1879. A copy of the pamphlet was forwarded to Dr. Williams; but he never had the grace to acknowledge it, though he printed the corrections at the end of what he called a 2nd edition of his Dictionary, also without acknowledgement. He could not correct mistakes in the body of his 2nd edition, for the simple reason that it was not a 2nd edition at all, but only a new impression from the old stereotyped plates, with a change of date on the title-page.

If I had only copied from Morrison's Dictionary, I should have been safe; for Morrison, who was really a great scholar in his day, closely reproduced the entry in K'ang Hsi, which speaks of a lion but says nothing of Tibet, whereas Dr. Williams has, "A young lion; it comes from Tibet." Dr. Williams did not add Tibet out of his own researches; he took it, in common with a great deal more stuff of equal value, from a long-forgotten work, namely, Medhurst's Dictionary, published in 1842. There we read (*s. v.*), "A lion, comes from Thibet;" and now, it is to be hoped, there will be an end of the muddle. On examining K'ang Hsi it will be seen that the lion is credited to 西域 Central Asia, which Medhurst evidently mis-read 西藏 Tibet. — *R. I. P.*

P. S. — There is an inscription given on p. 290, which is simple enough, except for the date. Mr. Laufer translates, "A bronze made in the *Shang fang* (court atelier of the Han). A quadrangular vase [containing] two pecks (*tou*). It weighs ten catties. In the first month of the fourth year of the period *Shih chien kuo* [A. D. 12] the work was made."

On the first three sentences there is nothing to be said; "bronze" would perhaps have been better rendered adjectively in connexion with vase. But the date can scarcely pass as it stands. It runs thus, 始建國三口月工造. To begin with, 工 *kung* in these inscriptions does not mean "work," but "craftsman," or "artist."

This applies also to an inscription on p. 292, **延光三年七月工張順造**, which should not be translated "In the seventh month of the third year of the period *Yen kuang* [A. D. 124] the work was made by *Chang Shun*," but by "Made by the craftsman *Chang Shun* in the seventh, etc." The first lines of Chia I's well-known poem settle the point:

**天地爲爐兮造化爲工**

The universe is the smelting-pot, the craftsman is God.

For the two undecipherable characters Mr. Laufer proposes to read **年朔**, twice writing the latter character **朔**, a combination which does not seem to exist. The same may be said of **朔月**, but only in the sense that I have ransacked various sources of information in vain; these things are easily missed when there is no longer the convenient native scholar at one's elbow, to do the drudgery. I have the phrase in my Dictionary = 10th moon, which is more probably right; but I am unable to trace the source of this rendering. Professor Chavannes suggested reading **之年** in place of Mr. Laufer's two characters, but this seems forced by stress of circumstances rather than the natural outcome of a text. There is a striking reason why "first month," as given by Mr. Laufer, is improbable, quite apart from the fact that there may be really no such locution. In the biography of Wang Mang, who was ruling China in A. D. 12, we read that "in the 8th moon of the 4th year of *Shih chien kuo*, Wang Mang went out to **南郊** the southern suburb to superintend the casting of **威斗** *wei tou*. These vessels **以五石銅爲之** were made of 5 *shih* of bronze, in the form of the Northern Dipper (*Ursa major*), and 2.5 ft. in length." Here then is a date at which the casting of bronzes is positively recorded; and not only that, but it fits in with a suggestion I have to make in regard to the two undecipherable characters above. The first of the two must be **年** year, and I think the second must be **夏** summer; that is, "in the summer of the fourth year" this bronze was cast.

*China under the Empress Dowager*, by J. O. P. Bland and E. Backhouse, is an exceedingly interesting book, but it has been very badly edited. When Dr. Morrison published his great dictionary in 1816, the existence of aspirates in the Chinese language does not appear to have been recognised. Even in 1877, Morrison's then already obsolete system was adopted by Sir Robert Douglas for the catalogue of the Chinese books in the British Museum, the result being that its pages swarm with such hobgoblins of language as (p. 65) 春芳 *Chun Fang*, (p. 106) 琴 *Kin*, 慶源 *King Yuen*, 可笑人 *Ko Seaou jin*, etc. etc. Fancy leaving out the rough breathings in Greek, where by the way they are not nearly of such frequent occurrence as in Chinese! Well, that day has long since gone by, and Morrison's system has been dead as a doornail for ever so many years. Authors now usually attempt to secure some accuracy in the transcription of Chinese sounds, and this has evidently been done in the present instance, with not a few lamentable lapses. We are cheered to find such terms as *T'ung Chih* and *P'u Lun*; but if some, why not all? And why choose the most important names for the least scientific treatment? Everywhere, including the Index, we read *Tzü An* and *Tzü Hsi* for the two Empresses Dowager, whose names were 慈安 and 慈禧, although the first character in each case is of course aspirated. Similarly, we have "An Wei-chün" on p. 171 and "An Wei-chun" on p. 517, and so on.

On p. 90 it is stated that the 如意 *ju-yi* is a "symbol of royal power." There is no authority for any such statement, unless we fall back on Professor Parker, who in his egregious *China and Religion* (p. 72) has an illustration of "the *Ju-i*, or As-you-like-it, a Symbol of Rule, adopted from Buddhism." I have already shown in print (*Chinese Pictorial Art*, p. 159) what the *ju i* originally was; it certainly has nothing to do with royal power, and existed in China before Buddhism was even heard of. See *post*, p. 320.

On p. 91 we have the tragic story of the favourite eunuch,

**安得海**, An Tê-hai (not *Te-hai*), on his mission to Shantung in 1869, to collect tribute for the Empress Dowager. The authors do not seem to know that there had been a previous excursion in the autumn of 1868, when An was sent down to Tientsin with Tls. 3,000 to spend on foreign articles for the Empress Dowager. On his arrival at Tientsin, he was directed to me as a speaker of Chinese, and he asked me to go round and interpret for him, which I did. We visited "Captain" Laen's store, where he bought among other things some riding-whips, which he suggested playfully should be tested on a member of his suite. We also went to Dr. Frazer's house and examined his instruments; and again An proposed that the doctor should take a tooth out, to show him how it was done. Then we went back to my rooms; and after being regaled with wine, he invited me to become his "sworn brother," to which I agreed. From that moment he addressed me as **把弟** *pa ti*, I being the younger. He also asked me privately to go with him to Peking, and promised to take me into the Palace if I would put on Chinese dress. At this time I had not the faintest idea who he was, and only knew that he was **安大老爺** His Honour An, from the Palace. I was much disappointed at being obliged to decline his offer, since at that date no one had ever been inside the Palace; but I was doubtful as to the view Sir Rutherford Alcock might take. On parting, he drew from his wrist a heavy gold bangle, and asked me to accept it as a keepsake. I offered him in return the choice of anything in my rooms, and fully expected that he would take a muzzle-loading gun which was standing in the corner; but he had fixed his eye upon something he had never seen before, and went away delighted with my bath-sponge.

A copy of the Edict approving An's summary execution lies before me, and shows that the translation on p. 93 is a mere paraphrase, probably taken from the so-called "translations" of the Peking Gazette, which are notoriously inaccurate. For instance, we read that eunuchs "have always been sternly forbidden to make expedi-

tions to the provinces, or to create trouble." The text runs 海遇有在外招搖生事者無不立治其罪 = "whenever they are found outside (Peking), giving themselves airs and causing trouble, they are to be immediately punished." The sentence is not historical, but forms part of the 家法 household regulations of the dynasty. Neither does the rendering from the famous Journal given on p. 201 correspond, in the sense that translation should correspond, with the text on p. 299. Since writing this, I find that the same complaint has been made by M. Georges Soulié: "La traduction est agrémentée souvent de détails qui ne sont pas dans le texte."

## JADE

WITH the Chinese, jade has been prized from time immemorial as the stone *par excellence*, and is familiar in name and appearance to all. It is indeed said that the legendary Emperor Yao, who flourished in the Golden Age, some two thousand three hundred and fifty years before our era, would have none of it; and that when a tribute of jade was laid before him, he ordered the attendants to throw it away. It is also said that the Great Yü, who came to the throne about one hundred and fifty years later, after draining the empire of an inundation, preferred an inch of time to a foot of jade, referring, of course, to the sun-dial; but still the broad fact remains that with the vast masses of the Chinese people, jade always has occupied the highest place as a jewel. In addition, it may be fairly stated that every woman in China wears at least one ornament of jade, which, if not the genuine article, is at any rate a good imitation.

Jade is frequently mentioned in the Confucian Canon. In the *Book of History*, written at least seven hundred years B.C., and edited later on by Confucius, we read of jade tablets, which the feudal chiefs of early days received in token of the authority delegated to them. In the *Odes*, collected and edited by Confucius, we have the famous lines which assign these same jade tablets as playthings for sons and only tiles as playthings for girls, from which it has been too hastily inferred that the Chinese have themselves admitted their absolute contempt for women in general. Yet this idea never really entered into the mind of the writer. The jade tablet, it is true, was a symbol of rule; but the tile, so far from being a mere potsherd

implying courtesy, was really an honourable symbol of domesticity, being used in ancient times as a weight for the spindle.

In the *Book of Rites*, which dates from the first century B.C., we are warned not to hurry when carrying jade, but to drag the feet on the ground, and to hold the jade with both hands; also, when drinking from a jade cup not to throw away the dregs, lest the cup accidentally go with them. Hence the saying that the superior man should behave as if holding jade, *q.d.*, with caution.

Jade has formed the subject of many poems, and is frequently used as a rhetorical figure in verse and prose, and in common sayings or proverbs. The great poet Li Po declared that several bushels of jade were not to be compared in value with one bushel of maize. Schoolboys are told that a fault in jade can be ground away, but not a fault in speech (*verbum irrevocabile*). In times of scarcity, food is likened to jade; we read of 'jade brothers and gold friends;' the chief deity in the Taoist Pantheon is called 'The Jade Ruler, God;' the 'jade girl' is a polite way of saying 'your daughter;' and one friend will write to another asking him 'not to spare his jade footsteps,' *i.e.*, not to be an infrequent visitor.

Of legendary lore which has gathered around jade, there is no end. One precious piece is mentioned as giving out a bright light; thrown into water it would swim, and its light remain unextinguished. Another, which had a corner broken off, bled for a fortnight. On a third, flies would not settle; a fourth was highly scented, and so on. We further hear of twelve discs of jade inscribed with the twelve horary characters, and used for telling the time. Placed in a bowl of water, they would rise in turn to the surface and float for a period of two hours each, into twelve of which the Chinese day is divided. There is also the famous story of the fabulous animal known as the *ch'i lin* (or *kilin*), which appeared at the village gate just before Confucius was born, holding in its mouth a tablet of jade inscribed with the following prophetic words: 水精之子

係衰周而素王 'The son of the essence of water shall succeed to the decaying Chou dynasty, and be an Uncrowned King.' We are now face to face with the question: 'What is jade?' — a question frequently heard of late years. Here is a Chinese answer: 'Jade is the quintessence of Heaven and Earth. It is marked with the dark hues of the hills, with the blue tints of streams. It is white as sliced lard, red as a cock's comb, black as pure lacquer, and yellow as a cooked chestnut.' Some writers add a fifth colour, 'crimson as rouge.'

The term jade, as popularly employed, includes two minerals, jadeite and nephrite. The specific gravity of jadeite is about 3.1; that of nephrite 2.9. The fusing point of jadeite is much lower than that of nephrite. By the mere process of handling and inspection it is impossible to tell one from the other.

The Chinese, who until recent times have known nothing of specific gravity, test jade by its hardness: 'Jade is hard and veined; fire and steel can do it no injury.' Again, 'If your jade is white as pig's lard, and rings when struck, then it is genuine. There are so many substances which resemble jade that it is necessary to discriminate carefully.' Another writer says, 'Genuine jade is soft-looking and glossy, as though steeped in some kind of fat. On being struck it gives forth a clear ringing sound like a bell, which seems to stop and then goes on again, dying away in the distance and gradually.' The Chinese classify jade according to colour and *provenance*: 'The best kind of jade,' says one writer, 'is orange yellow; the second-best is the colour of mutton-fat; the next best is yellow, which is not easy to obtain; then comes white.' Among the rest is a stone, called by the Chinese *fei ts'ui*, from its resemblance in colour to the plumage of the kingfisher, which appears to be chrysoprase, and is now very highly prized. White jade with black or smoke-like streaks also commands fancy prices; though, of course, all really depends, as will presently appear, upon the treatment by the artist of well-selected material.

A disciple is said to have asked Confucius 爾子貴玉而賤  
碔者何也 why jade was held to be more precious than prehnite,  
a stone, by the way, which Chinese experts say can 'easily be  
mistaken for jade.'

'Is it,' he asked, 'because the former is scarce and the latter more abundant?' 'Prehnite,' replied Confucius, 'is not despised because it is more abundant, neither is jade valued because it is scarce. In the olden days a superior man took jade as a symbol of virtue. Suave and gentle in appearance, it symbolises charity of heart; close-grained and firm, it symbolises wisdom; sharp without doing injury, duty to one's neighbour; hanging down as if weighted, decorum; when struck, it yields a clear and prolonged note which gradually dies away, symbolising music; its flaws do not obscure its beauties, nor do its beauties obscure its flaws, symbolising loyalty; there is an air of confiding trust emanating from it, which symbolises truth; it is like a bright rainbow, symbolising heaven; its energies are apparent in the hills and streams, symbolising earth; among insignia of office it holds the chief place, symbolising excellence; and beneath the sky there is no one who does not value it, —道也 a symbol of the True Path.'

Elsewhere we read, 'The superior man may be compared with jade. If there is a flaw in jade, it can be seen from the outside; and in like manner a superior man will not conceal his faults.'

Everything in China of any rarity whatever is quite certain to be dragged into the pharmacopœia of the Chinese physician. Jade is no exception to the rule. It may be swallowed as a powder, or in little pieces the size of hemp-seed, for various stomachic complaints; even pock-marks and scars may be obliterated by being daily rubbed with a piece of pure jade. It is also considered to be of a very moist nature, and we read of an Imperial favourite of the eighth century who was cured of excessive thirst by holding a fish-shaped piece of jade in her mouth. And so when the tomb of the great commander, Ts'ao Ts'ao, third century A.D., was opened two hundred years after his death, among the usual objects found in such circumstances was a large silver bowl full of water. That the water had not dried up was accounted for by the presence in the bowl of a jade boy three feet in height.

Jade is chiefly brought from the K'un-lun<sup>1</sup> or Koulkun range, between the Desert of Gobi and Tibet; from Khoten or Ilchi in Yarkand; and from Lan-t'ien on the Belurtagh mountains, still farther to the west. This Lan-t'ien has been confused by Chinese writers with another Lan-t'ien in the province of Shensi, near the city of Hsi-an, whither the Chinese Court fled in August 1900, upon the relief of Peking. In the tenth century A.D. the latter was actually known as the Jade-Hills district, though it does not appear that any jade has ever been found there.

The 廣志 *Kuang chih* says:

'When white jade is very good, you can see your face in it as in a mirror. White jade comes from Chiao-chou; green jade comes from the Dwarf nation (Japan); and red jade from Korea.'

In the 孔帖 *K'ung t'ieh* we read:

About a thousand miles south of Khoten is Yü Chou (Jade District), where much jade is found on the hills. The river which rises there and runs to Khoten forks into three; the eastern branch is called the river of white jade, the western branch is called the river of green jade, and the extreme western branch is called the river of 黑 black jade. All these three contain jade, but the colour varies in each case. Every year in autumn, when the water is dried up, the king of the country collects jade, and after him the people generally are allowed to collect.

This account, however, has been set aside, so far as black jade is concerned, as a mere traveller's tale; and at the same time the river, with only two branches, has been transferred to the Belurtagh range. The famous Chinese Buddhist, Hsüan Tsang, who travelled overland to India in the seventh century A.D., says: 'At Khoten there is a jade lake, where every year on the 5th of the 5th month, everybody, from the king down to the common people, goes to collect jade. Whenever any one takes out a round piece, he throws in a round stone.'

<sup>1</sup> The name given to jade by the Kitan Tartars was *Ku Wén* = *K'un*, evidently from the name of the mountains.

Jade of five colours was said to come from 大秦 Ta Ch'in, the country of many identifications, shown perhaps conclusively by Professor Hirth to have been the Roman province of Syria.

As regards colour, it is again necessary to correct previous quotations by another from an apparently more sober authority, the 天工開物 *T'ien kung k'ai wu*.

Jade occurs only in two colours, white and green. Specimens of red and yellow jade, so called, are in reality other stones, equal perhaps in value to jade, but not actually jade. All jade in its natural state is found in the rocky bed of a flowing stream. Before it has been removed from its place, the jade inside the rough block is as soft as cotton-wool; but when removed it becomes hard at once, and when exposed to the air still harder.<sup>1</sup> It is inaccurate to speak, as is done, of working soft jade. The outside of a block of jade in its natural state is called 'jade-skin.' It is used for ink-slabs and trays, and is of no great value. Of old if the jade within the outer covering was over a foot square, and without flaw, it was used for the Imperial seals. This is what was meant by 'the jewel worth several cities,' and is not easy to obtain.<sup>2</sup> If about five or six inches square, and without flaw, the jade was made into cups and goblets, which are now also very valuable. Besides these, there is a strange variety which comes from So-li. Ordinarily it is white, but if examined in fine weather it will flash red, and in dark rainy weather it is green.<sup>3</sup> It may be called the jade goblin, and is found in Korea. On the T'ai-wei hills in the northwest of Korea there is a deposit a thousand years old, the jade in which is mutton-fat colour, much like the best specimens from the Belurtagh mountains. Although much is written and said about other kinds, I have never seen them.

The reader will now appreciate the old Chinese story of a man who found on the mountains a rough block of jade in its 'skin,' and hastened to present it to his Prince. The stone was declared to be false, and he was sentenced to have his left foot cut off as

<sup>1</sup> It is notable that Hermann von Schlagintweit, who inspected the quarries in the Kara-Kash valley, found that the hardness of the stone when freshly broken was considerably less than that assumed by it after a short exposure. *Heinrich Fischer*.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to a story of several cities offered for a famous jewel by one feudal State to another.

<sup>3</sup> A piece, said to fulfil these conditions, was taken from the Summer Palace in 1860, and is now in the possession of the son of the late Hon. A. K. Whampoa, C.M.G., of Singapore.

an impostor. When the next Prince came to the throne, he presented the stone again and with a similar result, this time losing his right foot. Yet a third Prince succeeded, and once more he submitted his stone, weeping tears of blood, not, as he said, for the loss of his feet, but because a genuine stone had been pronounced false, and a loyal subject an impostor. The block was once more tested, one account says 'broken open,' and at length discovered to be a valuable gem.

Considering the extreme hardness of jade, it is a marvel to see what exquisitely cut and highly polished objects are turned out from the workshop. In the *Old History of the T'ang Dynasty* we read that the second Emperor said to his trusted Minister Wei Chêng (d. A.D. 643):

Although jade, as a substance, is so beautiful, in its uncut state, unground and unpolished by the skilled artisan, it is not distinguishable from rubble in general; but if it does fall into the hands of some skilled artisan, then it becomes a prized jewel for a thousand generations.

Some centuries before our era, there was a man who carved for his feudal Prince a piece of jade into the form of a mulberry-leaf. He spent three years over the job, and when it was finished, the leaf was so perfect in detail — stalk, veins, and even hairy spikelets — that when mixed up with other mulberry leaves, no one could say which was the imitation. The artisan was richly rewarded; but the philosopher of the day is said to have remarked, 'If God Almighty spent three years over every leaf, there would be scant foliage on the trees. Therefore,' he added, 'the wise man puts his trust in the processes of Nature, and not in cunning or ingenuity.'

Su Tung-p'o, the famous poet and statesman of the eleventh century, writes:

Genuine jade is very scarce nowadays. It cannot be defined as 'that which fire and steel will not touch, but which can be cut with sand,' for this applies equally to prehnite. I have been told by an old jade-worker that if porcelain-dust from Ting-chou (in Chihli) will not touch it, then that is real jade, but I cannot vouch for the truth of this.

In the *T'ien kung k'ai wu* there is an illustration of an artisan employed in cutting jade. The following remarks accompany the picture:

When a block of uncut jade has to be cut, fuse some iron and make it into a disc. Take a basin of water, and fill it with sand. With the aid of a treadle cause the disc to revolve, feeding it with sand, and in a short time the jade will be cut through. The sand used in China for cutting jade comes from Yü-t'ien (jade fields) in the Shun-tien Prefecture, and also from Chén-ting and Hsing-t'ai (all in Chihli). This sand is not found in any river, but issues from springs. It is as impalpable as flour, and is used for working jade, suffering no diminution by waste. When the jade is cut skilled labour is further necessary, and tools of 鑄 pin steel (brought from Hami in Kansu), with which it may be formed into various shapes.

The 齊東野語 *Ch'i tung yeh yü* says:

A worker in jade must use sand from the 菲 Hsing river (Hsing-t'ai, as above, is probably meant). The implements for carving and engraving must be what are called 'diamond awls,' for jade is the hardest stone under the canopy of heaven.

With regard to the results achieved, one writer says, 'Although all the best jade goes to Peking, in point of workmanship the palm must be given to Soochow.'

These results are exhibited in manifold beautiful objects of use and ornament. What the bamboo is to the ordinary Chinaman, providing him as it does with almost every imaginable article required by the social conditions of China, that jade is to the connoisseur and man of refinement, if within somewhat narrower limits. It has been made into snuff-bottles, cups, plates, bows, bracelets, earrings, vases, boxes, inkstones, flutes, pestles and mortars, seals, ear-stoppers, sceptres (so-called), pillows, boats, hairpins, rings, head ornaments, paper-weights, Buddhas, human figures, beasts, birds, fishes, etc., etc. It is recorded in the 西京雜記 which gives an account of Ch'ang-an, formerly the capital of China, that because the Lady Li, favourite of the day (second century B.C.), scratched her head with

a jade pin, all the ladies of the harem must necessarily have jade pins to scratch their heads with, and that consequently the price of jade was rapidly doubled. Another work tells us of a jade whip presented to the Emperor, of such flexibility that its two ends could be made to touch. Elsewhere we read of two bowls which would revolve one within the other, but could not be separated—evidently an anticipation of the familiar breakfast-dish. The great Mongol general, Bayan, while digging a well at Khoten, is said to have come across a statue of Buddha three or four feet in height; also a block of white jade, too big to be carried away. In the account of Ch'ang-an, quoted above, there is a note on a green jade lamp-stand 7 feet 5 in. in height, with five branches, around each of which was coiled a dragon, holding a lamp in its mouth.

Ear-stoppers of jade are mentioned in the *Odes*. Some Chinese commentators think that they were worn merely for ornament, but it seems more probable that they were intended to keep out dust. Occasionally a stanza of poetry is carved on a jade saucer or snuff-bottle, and if the object is very old and has been much used, the characters are often difficult to decipher. In such cases a little Indian ink, smeared over and then lightly rubbed off, will cause the writing to stand out clearly.

Of all forms into which jade has been wrought, the most interesting perhaps is that popularly and inaccurately known as the 'sceptre.' In shape it is something like an elongated S laid on its side, with a well-defined bilt and guard, like those of a sword; and its Chinese name is 如意 *ju i* = as you wish. It is a common form of present between well-to-do persons. Davis says, 'That it had a religious origin seems indicated by the sacred flower of the lotus being generally carved on the superior end.' Franks calls it 'the sceptre of longevity.' The gist, however, of all that the Chinese have to say on the subject may be briefly summed up. The earliest mention of the *ju i* in Chinese literature seems to be an allusion in a biography of 胡綜 Hu Tsung, a statesman who died in A.D.

243, where it is said that a jade *ju i* was dug up and was referred to the 3rd cent. B.C. After this, the term becomes fairly well known; but it is not until the thirteenth century that any writer discusses it from an archaeological point of view. In the 洞天清錄 *Tung t'ien ch'ing lu* we read, 'The men of old used the *ju i* for pointing or indicating the way, and also 或防不測 for guarding themselves against the unforeseen. It was made of wrought iron, and was over two feet in length, ornamented with patterns in silver either inlaid or overlaid. Of late years, branches of trees, which have grown into the shape required, and also pieces of bamboo, highly polished to resemble jade, and prepared without the aid of hatchet or awl, have been very much in vogue.'

In support of the first clause of the above, we find in history such passages as (fifth century): 'The Emperor pointed at him with his *ju i* and said;' 'The Emperor rapped on the table with his *ju i* in token of approbation,' &c.

With reference to the material used for the *ju i*, we further read of jade, gold, buffalo-horn, bone, red sandal-wood, crystal, and amber; and from the employment of several of the substances it must be inferred that the *ju i* had already ceased to be a weapon of defence against 'the unforeseen.' The prevalence of the lotus-flower as a decoration is due of course to the influence of Buddhism, but is scarcely sufficient evidence of 'a religious origin.'

A fitting conclusion to this desultory note may be found in a verse by 趙昂 Chao Ang of the T'ang dynasty, which explains the high value placed upon jade ornaments by the Chinese:

人舍玉而何之	玉待人而成器	有工人在茲	有美玉於斯
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Here is beautiful jade,  
There is a skilled artisan;  
The man is all to the stone,  
The stone is as naught to the man.

## MY VILLAGE

By 白居易 Po Chü-i, A.D. 772-846.

Far from the ken of worldly eyes,  
Nestling in trees, a village lies.  
There, mid the loom's incessant sound,  
Oxen and asses tramp around;  
Young girls draw water from the rills;  
Young men bring fuel from the hills.  
Foul litigation never sears  
The pure life of these mountaineers;  
Their wealth is not by commerce earned;  
To war their youths have never turned;  
Each works out his appointed task;  
Old age is left at home to bask.  
In life, mere peasants they remain;  
In death, to village dust again.  
The youths and elders you may see  
Meet in the fields with joyous glee;  
One village 'tis, with but two clans;  
Enough indeed for marriage banns.  
Their forbears boast the selfsame stock;  
They roam afield, a single flock.  
Fat capons and good wine appear  
On festive days throughout the year.  
No cruel partings blight their lives;  
From neighbours near they seek their wives.  
No distance parts them when they die;  
Around the hamlet's side they lie;  
And thus in life and death at peace,  
Their health and spirits never cease;  
Old age is theirs; they live to see  
Their great great grandson's progeny!

Born in a cultured family,  
An orphan soon, in poverty,  
The Right I sought by midnight oil,  
With no result save bitter toil.  
The world, in name, towards goodness strives,  
But what men want is "place" and wives,  
Thus forging fetters for their necks,  
And ending miserable wrecks.  
At ten, the Books I read and learned;  
At fifteen, prose and verses turned;  
At twenty, baccalaureate;  
At thirty, joined the Censorate.  
At home, the thrall of wife and child;  
At Court, although the Emperor smiled,  
The statesman's toil, domestic care,  
O'erwhelmed me, more than I could bear.  
I think of all my journeys done,  
While fifteen years away have run;  
Whether by boat I steered my course,  
Or ambled on a weary horse.  
Hunger was oft my lot by day;  
The livelong night I restless lay;  
Now east, now west, no stop allowed;  
Hither and thither, like a cloud.  
Rebellion came, my home was lost;  
My relatives, all tempest-tost,  
Scattered, some north, some south, were seen,  
And the Great River flowed between.  
Of some, I never heard again;  
Of others, in a year or twain.  
From morn to eve I sat in grief;  
From eve to morn, still no relief.  
Scorched with these fires my heart is dead;  
Sorrow has blanched my troubled head;  
And now, amid this stress and strife,  
My spirit longs for village life.



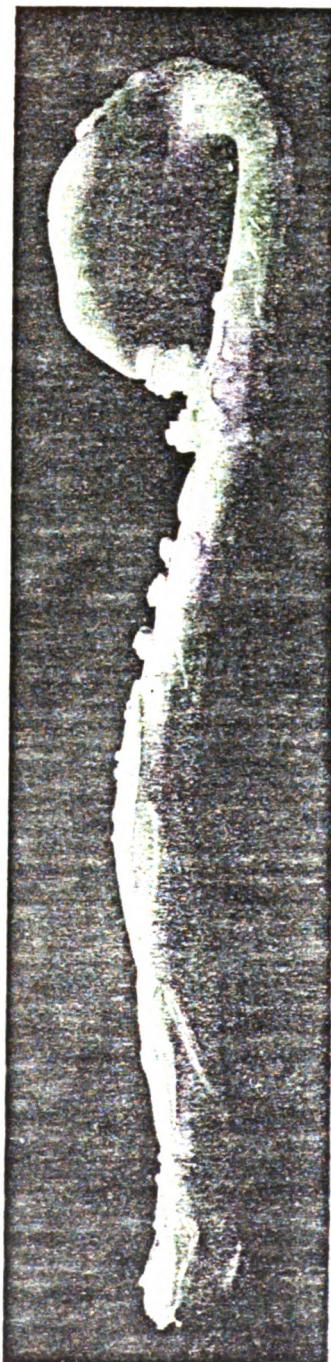


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

## JADE

The accompanying illustrations of jade objects should have followed p. 322, but were not ready in time. I give No. 1 as a fine specimen of the *如意* *ju i*, usually miscalled a "sceptre" and often associated with Buddhism, but which, as I have shown (*Introd. to the Hist. of Chinese Pictorial Art*, p. 159), was really a kind of short blunt sword, made of iron and used for "guarding against the unexpected." This specimen is of "mutton-fat" jade, highly polished, and 20 inches in length. No. 2 is a native house-boat, with two fish-

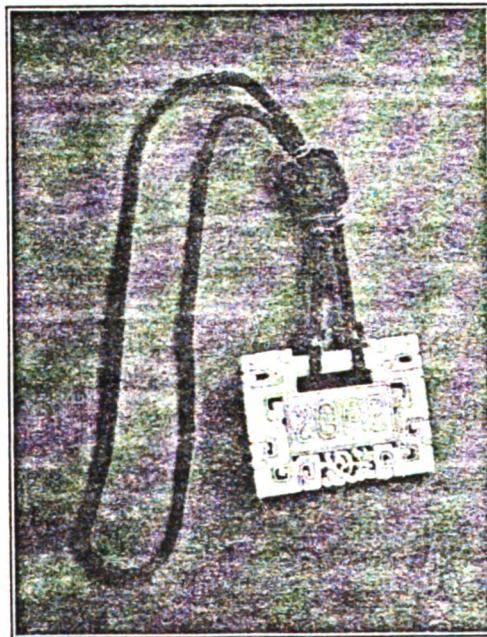


Fig. 4.

ermen and their apparatus in the bow, and a woman and child

inside. No. 3 is a beautifully carved vase of "mutton-fat" jade, with a broad smoke-like streak running across it, and polished inside like glass. No. 4 is an amulet of a kind not mentioned, I think, by Mr. Laufer. It is in the shape of a Chinese padlock; and the idea is to confer longevity upon the wearer by, so to speak, locking him to life. The legend on the side shown—the other side has a conventional ornament—is in fanciful script, and reads thus: **壽同日月** "May your age equal that of the sun and moon!"

THE CHINESE "BRONZE BOWL" IN THE VICTORIA  
AND ALBERT MUSEUM

(See *ante*, p. 283)

I fear I can only partially congratulate Mr. L. C. Hopkins on his recent article in the April number of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, dealing with the above topic. Few things are more difficult than to provide a sound defence of a shaky case. Mr. Hopkins has indeed given us a paper of great value in the sense of a scientific examination of a large body of characters in an ancient script, which is his own particular *forte*; and he has given a new translation of the inscription in the bowl, from which Professor Parker's ludicrous mistranslation—"banks and fear being equally absent"—has happily disappeared; but all that leaves absolutely untouched the real question at issue. Is the bowl itself of doubtful antiquity, and is the inscription a fake?

To this question Professor Parker has given the following answer, "I am now most profoundly convinced that the bowl is absolutely genuine." Of course when he said that he had not read my translations and arguments which appear on pp. 291–298 *supra*; but as I have not seen or heard of any recantation, I must presume that he "is of the same opinion still." Mr. Hopkins now says, "For my part, after prolonged work on the bowl and its legend, I remain on the side of the angels, and their representative—*ad hoc*—upon earth, Professor Parker."

I venture to predict that both of them will soon be fallen angels, in view of the accession to our side (Chavaunes, Pelliot, Vissière,

and self) of a protagonist whose contribution, from the hitherto neglected archaeological and artistic point of view, will perhaps convince Messrs. Parker and Hopkins that a bowl with an inscription which yields an interesting document of an historical character is not necessarily anything more than a fake. Some few weeks ago, I received the following letter from Hongkong, where the writer is now H. I. G. M. Consul:—

Dear Sir,

With great interest I read in the first volume of the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* of April 1912 your reasons given in the *Adversaria Sinica* No. 9 why that sacrificial bowl in the South Kensington Museum (*recte* Victoria and Albert Museum) cannot be of the Chou Dynasty. Only an extract of it is given and I regret to say the *Adversaria Sinica* are not available here. But it may perhaps interest you to hear some more reasons supporting your opinion.

Having made rather extensive studies about old Chinese bronzes, the bowl in question was kindly shown to me outside its case by one of the officials of the Museum, Mr. A. J. Knoop, when I was on leave in 1910.

Besides your reasons ad 2) and 3) I give as reasons for the bowl not being Chou:

- 1) Handles like those on the bowl were in the 7th century B. C. not cast with the bowl, but cast apart and fixed by rivets.
- 2) The relief of the bowl and of the handles are in design and workmanship of outspoken decadence and never Chou work.
- 3) Body and foot of the bowl are unharmonious, the foot being too high and massive compared with the rather low and elegant body. Such a want of taste for the beautiful would not occur in a Chou piece of importance.
- 4) I am not certain whether varnish-enamel or black lacquer was used at all 700 B. C., but anyhow lacquer would not have stood those 2600 years so well as the varnish of the bowl has.

I take the piece to be the work of late Sung or early Ming, a conclusion to which I am led by considering the relief, the handles, and the lacquer. I am, dear Sir,

Yours sincerely

E. A. Voretzsch, Dr. jur.  
German Consul.

This letter seems to me to end the controversy at once; at any rate, unless the angels have a card up their sleeves, superior to

any hitherto played, it will end my share in it. Mr. Hopkins has perhaps shown (*Journal*, p. 447) that too much importance should not be attached to the length of the inscription, and he would be quite right in saying that "this charge seems somewhat slight to support a conviction for forgery," if indeed it were the only argument available. But of course it was one argument out of four (*see p. 297*); besides which, it is now completely overshadowed by the first three much more weighty arguments brought forward by Dr. Voretzsch.

With regard to Mr. Hopkins' remarks on the inscription and its covering (p. 446), I do not think he is at all so successful. He says, "Whether the coat of lacquer was added 'at once', which we do not know, or at some time later, it may well have been to preserve the characters from oxidation and decay. In the event, it has been singularly effective for this purpose." Now, it was this very effectiveness which first made me suspect the genuineness of the bowl. For small recent chippings of the "lacquer" showed a bright shining metal underneath, (not gold, as Bushell said, *Chinese Art*, I, p. 84), which would hardly be the case unless the lacquer had been put on "at once," that is, immediately after incision. It only remains to add that unless those who maintain the genuineness of this bowl have other arguments of greater potency than such as have been adduced, and calculated to meet the further objections raised by Dr. Voretzsch, the authorities of the Victoria and Albert Museum will have to reconsider their position in regard to the bowl and its label. The bowl itself, if really dating from the Chou dynasty and bearing a contemporaneous inscription, would be a treasure indeed. Even on the showing of Dr. Voretzsch it is of considerable value and interest, if only as an example of a bold effort to pass off a fish's eye for a pearl. But do not let us pretend to possess a pearl when we really have only got an eye.

## LIEH TZŪ

*The beings of the mind are not of clay.*

Chuang Tzū, who flourished in the fourth century B. C., was the first Chinese author to mention the name of 列禦 (also written 國 by 班固 Pan Ku) 寔 Lieh Yü-k'ou, more commonly known as Lieh Tzū, the philosopher Lieh. Indeed, Chuang Tzū's thirty-second chapter is so named; but apart from the fact that Lieh Yü-k'ou appears only in a short anecdote at the beginning of the chapter, and that therefore there is no adequate reason for this use of his name, we know on the authority of Su Tung-p'o that 凡分章名篇皆出世俗非莊子本意 "the divisions and titles of chapters were introduced as matters of convention, and were not in Chuang Tzū's original scheme." Altogether, this personage is introduced seven times into Chuang Tzū's work; three times as Lieh Tzū, twice as Lieh Yü-k'ou, and twice as 子列子 Tzū-lieh Tzū, the philosopher Tzū-lieh. This last-mentioned style is that under which, as we are told in the 邙暑錄 *Pi shu lu*, 弟子記其師之言非列子自云也 "the disciples of Lieh Tzū recorded their master's sayings, and was not used by Lieh Tzū of himself." We are now in possession of a work in eight chapters, under the title of "Lieh Tzū," which is supposed to stand in the same relation to this philosopher as the book we know as "Chuang Tzū" stands to the philosopher of that name, and is about one-third the length of the latter. And inasmuch as Chuang Tzū mentions Lieh Tzū, but Lieh Tzū never mentions Chuang Tzū, we may assume for the moment that the book of Lieh Tzū was the earlier of the two. It

may here be noted that Chuang Tzü never hints at any such book as that now under consideration.

1.—In the first of the above-mentioned passages, Chuang Tzü tells us that "Lieh Tzü," as he is here called, "could ride upon the wind, staying away so long as fifteen days."

2.—In the second, Chuang Tzü tells how "Lieh Tzü's" tutor succeeded in confounding a famous magician. This so impressed Lieh Tzü as to his own deficiencies, that he "at once set to work in earnest, passing three years without leaving the house. He helped his wife to cook the family dinner, and fed his pigs just like human beings. He discarded the artificial, and reverted to the natural. He became merely a shape. Amidst the confusion (of this material world), he was unconfounded."

3.—In the third, we read that "Lieh Tzü being on a journey, was eating by the roadside, when he saw an old skull. Plucking a blade of grass, he pointed at it and said, Only you and I know that there is no such thing as life and no such thing as death. Are you really at peace? Am I really happy?"

This is followed by a long paragraph showing that certain germs falling upon water become plants, which under particular influences become grubs, which in turn become insects, by and by to become birds; while by a similar process is produced the leopard, which produces the horse, which produces man, who dies and goes back into the great scheme of nature, to provide fresh germs for a new turn of the endless wheel.

The whole of the above episode appears, with some verbal changes, in chapter 1 of the work known as Lieh Tzü. One of these variants is of importance. Chuang Tzü has as his opening words, **列子行食於道從見百歲髑髏** 擔蓬而指之曰 while Lieh Tzü has **子列子適衛食於道從者見百歲髑髏** 擔蓬而指顧謂弟子 etc. Now, there can be no doubt

what 從 means in Chuang Tzū's text; it has the adverbial sense of "when (he saw)." But 從者 in Lieh Tzū offers a trap for the unwary; read *tsung*<sup>4</sup> *ché*<sup>8</sup>, it might mean "servants." The awkwardness and impossibility of such a rendering, however, becomes apparent when we reach 顧謂; the reading must be 從 *ts'ung*<sup>2</sup>, and the two texts may be compared with 昔 and 昔者, or 古 and 古者, of which the single word in each case would probably be the older form. Dr. Legge, no doubt by an oversight, in his version of Chuang Tzū translated 擠 by "pulled aside;" though K'ang Hsi, in special reference to this passage, as given in Lieh Tzū, defines it by 取 "to take," while the earliest commentary on Lieh Tzū, to be referred to later on, gives 拔, which can only mean "pull up" or "pull out," here "pluck." With regard to the germ paragraph, we have before us nothing less than a crude statement of the Buddhist theory of metempsychosis. We have not yet touched upon Lieh Tzū's date, beyond placing it, for the sake of argument, before that of Chuang Tzū, who lived and wrote much too early, so far as the general opinion goes, for any such intimate knowledge of Buddhistic dogmas. The whole passage from "happy?" onwards, can only be regarded as an interpolation in Chuang Tzū's text,—a pious fraud, some say, of the Buddhists. For its relation to Lieh Tzū's text, it may be well to suspend judgment awhile.

4.—In the fourth, we have a dialogue on the perfect man, beginning 子列子問關尹曰 "Tzū-lieh Tzū asked Kuan Yin, saying." These words involve two points: (a) the title, as though from a disciple, which Chuang Tzū was not, and (b) the identity of the person addressed. The latter provides a practical clue to Lieh Tzū's real date, if indeed he ever had one; for Kuan Yin is no other than 尹喜 Yin Hsi, the famous Warden of the Pass, to whom Lao Tzū is said to have entrusted the *Tao Té Ching* when he disappeared into the West. We therefore learn that Lieh Tzū was contemporary with a man who had met Lao Tzū, usually said

to have been born B. C. 604, though of course this date is only reached by sheer guesswork.

5.—In the fifth, we find "Lieh Yü-k'ou" exhibiting his skill in archery to a man whose name 伯昏無人 seems to mean "Uncle Stupid-nobody," which would be in keeping with other allegorical personages invented by Chuang Tzü, such as Without-end, No-begginning, and the rest.

6.—In the sixth, we read that "Tzü-lieh Tzü" was in great poverty, but that he refused assistance from 子陽 Tzü Yang, the Prime Minister of the 鄭 Chêng State, in which he lived. "It is a fine passage, reminiscent in style," says Chuang Tzü's greatest commentator, 林雲銘 Liu Yüu-ming, "of the 戰國策 *Chan kuo ts'ê*," our knowledge of which dates only from the 1st century B. C. The whole of it appears, with slight variations, in Book VIII of Lieh Tzü, from which, according to our above dates, it would seem to have been basely lifted by Chuang Tzü. That chapter, however, of Chuang Tzü, in which it occurs, was stated by Su Tung-p'o to be spurious; and this view has been generally accepted ever since.

7.—In the seventh, at the beginning of the chapter headed "Lieh Yü-k'ou," as already stated, we have a further anecdote of Po-hun Wu-jen, Uncle Stupid-nobody. That comprises all that Chuang Tzü has to say about Lieh Tzü, but does not by any means exhaust the relationship of the two writers. For a considerable number of passages appear in the texts of both, without the slightest hint that one writer copied from the other. Thus, in Lieh Tzü's chapter on the Yellow Emperor there are no fewer than seven passages which are to be found in various parts of Chuang Tzü's work. How did they get there?

The next allusion in Chinese literature to Lieh Tzü is found in the 呂氏春秋 historical miscellanea attributed to Lü Pu-wei, who died B. C. 235. In that work, the genuineness of which is not

altogether above suspicion, we find the whole anecdote of Lieh Tzü's poverty, as noted under No. 6 above, once more retold, but without the slightest hint that the text was taken either from Lieh Tzü or from Chuang Tzü, and accompanied only by a few words expressing disapproval of Lieh Tzü's action.

In B.C. 14, Liu Hsiang is said to have laid before the Throne the works of Lieh Tzü; but this fact is not mentioned in the detailed biography of the Emperor at that date. However, under "Taoism" in the history of the Han dynasty, we find this entry: "Lieh Tzü, in eight books. His personal name was Yü-k'ou. He lived before Chuang Tzü, who mentions him." The history in question was written partly by Pan Ku, who died A.D. 92, and partly by his sister, who survived him. No date is attached to this entry, but it may fairly be concluded that the reference is to Liu Hsiang's edition of B.C. 14, which would be the first date at which any mention was made of a work by Lieh Tzü.

Stepping back some seventy years brings us to the death of the famous historian, Ssü-ma Ch'ien (died B.C. 87), who added to his great work, as part and parcel of his scheme of history, a biographical section, in which he gives short lives of illustrious and notorious men and women,—statesmen, authors, actors, assassins, and courtesans,—belonging to the period covered by his work. Thus, we have notices of Confucius, of Lao Tzü, of Chuang Tzü, and of many others, but no mention is made of Lieh Tzü; so that Liu Hsiang's B.C. 14 stands unchallenged, and must be accepted as the earliest date at which an entry of a work by Lieh Tzü appears in Chinese literature.

In his preface, which has come down to us, Liu Hsiang says that he collected various copies of Lieh Tzü, making a total of twenty chapters in all, of which twelve were found to be duplicates; hence the eight chapters of his own work, which he caused to be written out on carefully prepared slips of wood. He goes on to say, **列子鄭人也與鄭**

繆 (= 穆) 公 同 時 "Lieh Tzü was a native of the Chêng State, and was contemporary with Duke Mu (reigned B. C. 626—604). He was in possession of Tao; and his philosophy, which was based on that of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Tzü, was called Taoism. The criterion of the Taoists lies in purity, vacuity, and inaction; their attitude towards personal culture and the outside world is one of reverence without contention, in accordance with the teachings of the Confucian Canon. The chapters, however, on 穆王 King Mu (of Chou, B. C. 1001—946), and on 湯問 The Questions of T'ang, are too extravagant and mendacious, and are not the words of a superior man. The chapter on 力命 Strength (i. e. one's own exertions as opposed to) Destiny emphasizes a belief in predestination, while the chapter on 楊子 The Philosopher Yang exalts the principle of letting things slide, two ideas which are antagonistic, so that these chapters do not seem to have come from the same hand. Each, however, has its own illumination, and is quite worth perusal. Under the Emperor Ching Ti (B. C. 156—140), when the mysteries of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Tzü were highly esteemed, this work 頗行於世 had some vogue; later on, it fell out of favour, and was scattered among the masses, with no one to carry on the tradition. Moreover, it was mostly allegorical, after the style of Chuang Tzü; and therefore the Grand Astrologer, Ssü-ma Ch'ien, did not insert Lieh Tzü among his biographies." Here follow author's titles and date, B. C. 14.

The above is in many ways a remarkable document. It tells us plainly that Lieh Tzü flourished about B. C. 620; and this statement is made by the earliest writer who deals with the subject at all, and would presumably have the best chance of knowing. This being the case, it is awkward to base Lieh Tzü's philosophy on that of Lao Tzü, the usually accepted date for the birth of Lao Tzü being B. C. 604. Again, Liu Hsiang is evidently not satisfied as to the integrity of the text. Further, he speaks of "the philosopher

Yang Tzü," who now appears in Lieh Tzü as "Yang Chu," the famous founder of the egoistic school, and who lived more than two centuries later. Moreover, he explains the exclusion of Lieh Tzü from Ssü-ma Ch'ien's biographies on the slender ground that his work was "mostly allegorical, after the style of Chuang Tzü;" the tenuity of this argument being accentuated by the fact that Ssü-ma Ch'ien did include Chuang Tzü.

Our next reference either to Lieh Tzü, or to his book, comes in the fourth century A. D., when one 張湛 Chang Chan, an official in the Imperial Banqueting Court, produced an edition of Lieh Tzü in eight books, or chapters,—the edition now in use. At the beginning of his preface he gives a rather long-winded account of how his father was a great book-collector, and how in the war of 306—311 he was obliged to abandon part of his library and flee for safety, and how he himself ultimately managed to bring together a complete copy of Lieh Tzü, etc., etc.. After a further dissertation on the scope of Lieh Tzü's work, he admits that 所明往往與佛經相參 "his teachings are frequently mixed up with those of the Buddhist Canon,"—an admission which is more important than all the rest of his preface put together. Meanwhile, he endorses by implication the statements of Liu Hsiang as to the date of Lieh Tzü, namely, before Buddhism was heard of.

The next notice of Lieh Tzü occurs under the year 732 in the old history of the T'ang dynasty. The Emperor Ming Huang was on the throne; and among his other vagaries he took up Taoism, and gave orders for the study of the *Tao Té Ching*, Chuang Tzü, Lieh Tzü, and others, promising advancement to successful students. In 741 these books were placed in the regular classical curriculum, to be taken up at the public examinations. In 742, Chuang Tzü, Lieh Tzü, and the rest, were canonized, the work of Lieh Tzü to be known in future as **虛眞經** "the True Classic of Soaring into Vacuity;" and not only that, but the Emperor himself **奉道** "was converted to Taoism."

Some fifty to sixty years later, Liu Tsung-yüan (A. D. 773—819), the celebrated poet and essayist, drew attention to the impossibility of harmonizing the date accepted as that at which Lieh Tzü flourished, with the text of the work passing under his name. Admitting, to begin with, that Liu Hsiang was one of the profoundest scholars of ancient times, he asks how it is that Lieh Tzü is made to flourish under Duke 穆 Mu of Chêng (B. C. 626—604), considering that he speaks in his book of 子產 Tzü Ch'an (who was born in B. C. 581) and of 登析 Têng Hsi (not given in the *T'u shu*). Liu Tsung-yüan suggests that 穆 (also 糜) is a mistake for 穎 Hsü, the name of another Duke of Chêng, who reigned B. C. 421—395, basing this on the fact that in the "poverty" story, alluded to above, mention is made of the death of 子陽 Tzü Yang, a Prime Minister of the Chêng State, which event occurred in B. C. 397. Further on, he makes another suggestion, namely, that 鄭 Chêng is a mistake for 魯 Lu, a Duke 穆 Mu of Lu having been on the throne of that State B. C. 408—375; and he finishes up by demanding to know how, failing some explanation of the kind, Liu Hsiang could have made such an extraordinary muddle. The muddle is indeed far worse than Liu Tsung-yüan would lead us to suppose. For Lieh Tzü not only gives anecdotes of Confucius (B. C. 551—479), and of 晏子 Yen Tzü (middle of 6th century B. C.), but in his very first chapter he inserts an extract from 黃帝書 "the Book of the Yellow Emperor," which turns out to be the famous chapter 6 of the *Tao Tê Ching*, which no competent student now, with the single exception of Professor Parker, regards as anything short of gibberish. In fairness to Professor Parker, I let his rendering of this chapter speak for itself: "The spirit of the valley of space never dies, and this is what is called the progenetrix of neutral dissolution, and the connection of this dissolution progenetrix may be termed the root of heaven and earth. It extends into eternity like a preserver of life, and is inexhaustible in its uses."

On the next page, we find the still more famous "Jehovah" passage, 視之不見 etc. (*Tao Té Ching*, ch. 14), appearing as part of Lieh Tzü's own text; while elsewhere (e. g. ch. 2) we have 老聃曰 sayings by Lao Tzü which are not to be found in the *Tao Té Ching*. Liu Tsung-yüan goes on to say that Chang Chan, who himself did nothing towards settling Lieh Tzü's period, was aware of the anachronism involved in the acceptance of Liu Hsiang's date; and this may be true, but the fact is not mentioned where it should have been mentioned, and that is in his preface. Neither is there any suggestion of an anachronism in reference to such stories as that of 子陽 Tzü Yang and Lieh Tzü's poverty; although according to the date accepted by Chang Chan, the whole narrative was ridiculous. Liu Tsung-yüan adds that Lieh Tzü has suffered much from addition and change; also, that Chuang Tzü imitated his style, and that in the numerous cases where the two authors have identical passages (e. g. the story of 季咸 Chi Han, the magician), the text is really that of Lieh Tzü. He further suspects that the chapters 楊朱 Yang Chu and 力命 Li Ming really belong to the works of Yang himself; while as to the notices of 孔穿 K'ung Ch'uan (of the sixth generation below Confucius) and of 魏牟 Wei Mou (no record), he admits that 皆出列子後不可信 "both of these belong to a period later than that of Lieh Tzü, and are unworthy of belief. Nevertheless," he concludes, "a perusal of this book will convey a good idea of the many strange and mysterious things of antiquity, 読者慎取之而已 it being only necessary for the reader to exercise caution as to what he accepts." Several editions of Lieh Tzü were published under the Sung dynasty, an Emperor of which (A. D. 1004) inserted 至德 "perfect virtue" in the title of the book. It is interesting to note that in one of these editions the author is described as 鄭穆公時隱者 "a recluse who lived in the reign of Duke Mu of Chêng," which, as before stated, means B. C. 626-604.

The great critic, Hung Mai (1124—1203), expresses his admiration for the terseness and striking character of Lieh Tzü's style, which he says is often superior to Chuang Tzü's. He quotes an anecdote in illustration, but refrains from any opinion as to the genuineness or integrity of the book. He admits, however, that the passage in Book I where 林類 Lin Lei told 子貢 Tzü-kung that "life and death were merely a coming and a going back, etc." is Buddhistic. As to the "holy man in the West," he says that later writers have tried to show that this was Lao Tzü, whereas it was really Buddha, the words being put into the mouth of Confucius.

China's most eminent scholar, Chu Hsi (1130—1200), has not failed to take some notice of Lieh Tzü. He says that "the writings of Mencius and of Chuang Tzü are both good; those of Lieh Tzü 有迂僻處 contain passages which are extravagant and coarse." Again, 列莊本楊朱之學故其書多引其語 "Lieh Tzü and Chuang Tzü are based on the philosophy of Yang Chu (4th cent. B.C.); that is why they so often quote his sayings in their books..... Yang Chu took his philosophy from Lao Tzü..... and when Mencius denounces Yang Chu, Chuang Tzü and Lao Tzü are included in the denunciation." Finally, in reference to a question, quoted by Lieh Tzü from the Yellow Emperor (not in the *Tao Tê Ching*), "If my 精神 incorporeal part goes back to its home, and my bones go back to whence they came, what becomes of me (the product of the two in coalescence)?"—Chu Hsi remarks that this is the 佛書四大各離 Buddhist doctrine of dissipation into earth, air, water, and wind.

He might well have gone further, and have drawn attention to the passage (Book VIII) in which Lieh Tzü tells us that the people of Han-tan were accustomed on New Year's Day to present pigeons to their ruler, Viscount Chien (B. C. 413—398), so that he might 放生示有恩也 "release them, and so exhibit his goodness of heart." Chinese Buddhists can be seen releasing pigeons

and other birds at the present day, and so exhibiting the goodness of their hearts, with a view to rewards in the next world. Also, to the still more important passage in which Confucius, when pressed to say if he knew of any one to whom the term 聖 holy could be applied, made the following answer. "The people of the west have a holy man, who does not govern, yet there is no disorder; who says nothing, yet the people believe of themselves; who does not reform, yet the people reform of themselves. To this grand Being the people are unable to give a name (*Exodus* III, 14). I take him to be a holy man; but whether he is so or not, I do not know." That the above refers to Buddha, there can be little doubt; as 王世貞 Wang Shih-chêng (1526–1593) says, 所稱化人見周穆王與西方有聖人語爲瞿曇氏之學者 "the story of the magician's interview with Duke Mu of Chou (B. C. 1000–945), and also that of the holy man in the west, belong to the teachings of Gautama Buddha." Wang adds to these the passages referring to Kuan Yin, and declares that they have all been 陰益 interpolated by pious Buddhists. He further dismisses as 謬 (the "putide" of our old classical commentators) the idea that Buddhism was known in China at an early date, and that 秦廢絕之 "the First Emperor (B. C. 259–210) had put a stop to it." In like manner 葉石林 Yeh Shih-lin (no record) says that Lieh Tzü's two chapters, 天瑞 *T'ien-jui* and 黃帝 *Huang-ti*, 與佛書直表裏 "are as closely connected with the Buddhist books as the inside and outside (of anything are connected); and he goes on to say that "at the date in question, not a very large number of Buddhist books had reached Chiu, and those were difficult to procure."

呂祖謙 Lü Tsu-ch'ien (1137–1181) has the following note. "That entry in Lieh Tzü about the meeting of Yang Chu and Lao Tzü (Book II) and the sighs of the latter, would lead one to infer beyond all doubt that Yang Chu had been a pupil of Lao

Tzü's. Many of Yang Chu's sayings appear in Lieh Tzü; but in my opinion it is easy to see that they are the additions of a later hand." It is here to be remarked that this story, which in Lieh Tzü begins with 楊朱南之沛 "Yang Chu went southwards to P'ei," is given in Chuang Tzü (chapter XVII) as 陽子居南之沛 "Yang Tzü-chü went southwards to P'ei." For the confusion between these two men, both of whose surnames would be sounded alike, though written differently, the reader is referred to the note on "Two Yangs," p. 116 *ante*. The point to be emphasized here is that Yang Tzü-chü, as given by Chuang Tzü, was contemporary with Lao Tzü; while Yang Chu, as given by Lieh Tzü, is some two centuries wrong.

**高似孫** Kao Ssü-sun (12th century) has an interesting note on Lieh Tzü. "The historian, Ssü-ma Ch'ien, makes absolutely no allusion to Lieh Tzü, whom he regarded in the same light as Chuang Tzü's Hsü Yu and Wu Kuang (*i. e.* as doubtful or fictitious personages). The Han dynasty (under which he lived, 2nd and 1st centuries B. C.) was not very far removed from ancient times, and it would have been quite simple to make investigations; all the same, he remained suspicious. As to what are said to be the pronouncements of Lieh Tzü, they were found only in allegorical connexions; how could Ssü-ma Ch'ien be otherwise than suspicious in regard to them? In Chuang Tzü's last chapter we find allusions to 墨翟 Mo Ti, 禽滑釐 Ch'in Hua Li, 慎到 Shên Tao, 田駢 T'ien P'ien, disciples of Kuan Yiu, down to Chuang Tzü; only Lieh Tzü is omitted from the list. But did not Lieh Tzü also discuss the vital principle and the spirit of lightning? His book, indeed, contains seventeen passages which are also found in Chuang Tzü; also shallow, extravagant, and coarse passages which were brought together at a later date in order to complete the work. As to that entry about 'the holy man in the west,' this belongs to Buddhism, and labours under the gravest suspicion." The patchwork character of Lieh Tzü

stands, indeed, prominently out. For instance, in Book V there is a passage taken bodily from Mo Ti (4th and 5th cent. B.C.) but without acknowledgement, on which Chang Chan honestly remarks

此事亦見墨子 "this matter also occurs in the philosopher Mo." There are frequent quotations from the book of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Tzū, some of which are to be found in the *Tao Té Ching* and some not. There are appropriations (Book IV) from the *Shan hai ching*; and in Book V we have a passage beginning 古詩言 "An old poem says," which now forms part of the 學記 chapter on education in the Book of Rites (circa B. C. 100), where nothing is said as to its poetical character or to its occurrence in the works of Lieh Tzū.

王應麟 Wang Yüg-lin (1223—1296), the immortal author of the 三字經 *San tsü ching*, also edited, or perhaps like many others only provided a preface to Lieh Tzū, but without throwing any new light on the subject. His little primer, above-mentioned, will have to disappear for a time perhaps, in the face of the young republic; for the republicans have now issued "A New *San tsü ching*," the general tenor of which may be gathered from the first four lines: 人之初，性本善，漢相近，滿相遠， which mean, "Men at their birth are naturally good; the Chinese approximate to this, but the Manchus are far from it." By and by, when the bitterness of the present is past, the old and valuable handbook may be restored, with the necessary additions, to its former place in the school curriculum.

金九疇 Chiu Chiu-ch'ou of the Ming dynasty, who flourished between 1573 and 1620, wrote the usual preface to an edition of Lieh Tzū, in which he gave an account of Liu Tsung-yüan's critique, adding that the latter was himself unable 實指其爲何時人 "to say conclusively at what date Lieh Tzū did live." He goes on to mention the teachers under whom Lieh Tzū studied for nine years, "at the expiration of which time he could ride upon

the wind;" and concludes by saying that "his doctrines seem to occupy an intermediate position between those of Lao Tzü and Chuang Tzü, but far removed from those of Confucius."

The last Chinese writer of any consequence who alludes to Lieh Tzü is Lin Yün-ming, already quoted, who flourished in the middle of the 17th century. He dismisses Lieh Tzü's claims curtly enough;

**列子多本於莊子** "Lieh Tzü is mostly based upon Chuang Tzü." There remains the Imperial Catalogue compiled in the 18th century. The notice of Lieh Tzü there given goes to show that no facts have been adduced to prove that there may not have been such a philosopher at some time or other, and the remarks of the writer are chiefly directed against the theory that he was a creature of Chuang Tzü's own imagination, such as many of the personages who are made to pass through his pages. Of this critique Dr. Legge said (Texts of Taoism, vol. I, p. 161). "The writers seem to me to make it out that there was such a man, but they do not make out when he lived, or how his writings assumed their present form." He had previously said (p. 5) that Lieh Tzü's chapters, "though not composed in their present form by him, may yet be accepted as fair specimens of his teaching." Premising that all Dr. Legge's remarks, with the fewest possible reservations, are of solid value to students of Chinese, it may be interesting to note that translations of Lieh Tzü and Chuang Tzü were many years ago advertised in the press as being undertaken by Dr. Legge for the Sacred Books of the East. On seeing this notice, I wrote to Dr. Legge and protested against the admission even of Chuang Tzü into a series of "sacred" books, pointing out at the same time that Lieh Tzü, in addition to being anything but "sacred," was beyond all doubt spurious, in the sense that it was not composed by the philosopher of that name, who most probably had never had an existence in the flesh. I failed to keep Chuang Tzü out of the series, but Lieh Tzü was heard of no more in that con-

nexion. It is a pity perhaps that Dr. Legge did not leave us a version of Lieh Tzü, for then we should at any rate have had an accurate rendering of this book. The fashion now is to slight Dr. Legge's great work, this practice dating from the days of Sir Thomas Wade who announced that the translations were "wooden." In my opinion, Legge's work is the greatest contribution ever made to the study of Chinese, and will be remembered and studied ages after Sir Thomas Wade's own paltry contribution has gone, if indeed it has not already gone, to the dust-heap.

Instances of internal evidence against the genuineness of Lieh Tzü could be multiplied. Here is a final one. In Book VIII we read, 稽之虞  
夏商周 "Examine the writings of (the time of) Yü (presumably Shun), and of the Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties." But at whichever of the two dates above suggested Lieh Tzü may have lived, he could scarcely have spoken of the writings of the Chou dynasty in this sense, as the dynasty was still going on. The reference evidently is in all four cases to writings of past ages. It is curious, to say the least of it, that in a short book, such as Lieh Tzü is, there should be repetitions; yet a long passage is found in Book II which is repeated verbatim in Book IV. Thus, what with quotations innumerable, not merely sentences but whole anecdotes, from other writers, the balance of original text said to emanate from the philosopher of the 7th cent. B. C., transferred *pour cause*, but without authority, to the 4th cent. B. C., is skimpy indeed. The 圖書集成 great encyclopaedia of the 18th cent. invites us to believe that a large portion of Lieh Tzü was transferred bodily from Chuang Tzü, and not the other way round; for in the chronological order which is there observed, Chuang Tzü takes precedence of Lieh Tzü. We can also gather therefrom some idea of the estimation in which these two philosophers have been held by their countrymen. Notices of Chuang Tzü fill 240 pages of the encyclopaedia; notices of Lieh Tzü only 34 pages. As regards

the styles of the two books, if Lieh Tzü is a mere patchwork compilation, the question hardly arises. In any case, it would be a difficult one for a foreigner to settle; and after forty-five years devoted to the study of the Chinese language, I do not really feel that my opinion would be worth having. It only remains to say that a complete translation of Lieh Tzü was published in German by the Rev. E. Faber so far back as 1877. The translator was a missionary in China for many years; he was an enthusiastic student, but never came within measurable distance of the scholarship of Dr. Legge. His rendering, which is generally accurate, contains some grave errors, of which I can only give one specimen. In Book I we read, 晏子曰善哉古之有死也仁者息焉不仁者伏焉死也者德之微也.

For this Faber has,—

Wie schön, sagt Ngan-Tsi, ist was die Alten sagen, das die Humanen zur Ruhe, die Nichthumanen zur Unterwerfung kommen. Der Tod ist das Glücksrad (chance) der Tugend. (How beautiful, said Ngan-Tsi, is what the ancients say, that the good come to rest, the wicked to subjection. Death is the fate-wheel of virtue).

The real translation is,—

How admirable was the ancients' view of death! The good find repose therein, the wicked find subjection; and so each dead man gets his deserts.

The last four characters contain nothing at all about virtue. It is the old blunder made by all early translators of the *Tao Té Ching* (*Remains of Lao Tzü*, p. 26), who did not seem to know that in archaic Chinese 德 is frequently used for 得. The character 微 simply means "the luck (that is his due)," and the phrase may be compared with that of the fish supposed to have regained its element: 得其所歸 (*Mencius*, Bk. V, Pt I, ch. 2).

## CHILDBIRTH, CHILDHOOD, AND THE POSITION OF WOMAN

If it be true, as many now say, that life is feminine and begins as female, all facts pointing to the feminine as the primary and fundamental basis of existence, some slight confirmation may be drawn from the fact that the Chinese originally traced descent through the mother and not through the father, as witnessed by the composition of the character for clan name or surname, which is 姓 *q.d.* 生 sprung from 女 woman. At the same time, we must not lose sight of the ordinary explanation, namely, that the mother was always an obvious fact, whereas the father often disappeared altogether from the scene.

Some slight attempt has been made by the Chinese to guard the future of the race. The marriage of cousins of the same surname is prohibited, and that of other cousins is frowned upon; even strangers having the same surname are not allowed to marry. This is the general rule, based upon a belief in the original consanguinity through the male line of all such persons; in practice, however, it has been found necessary to modify, under special circumstances, the rule as applied to strangers. Certain large areas in China are peopled almost entirely by a single clan; in such cases, marriages within the clan are permitted, provided that the contracting parties are not related within the five degrees of mourning. Also, when the lines of ancestry can be traced from two distinct stocks, as in the case of two families, named 車 *ch'ê*, one of which adopted the name at a comparatively late date. On the other hand, the 劉 *liu* family will not marry with the 候 *hou* family, the latter name

having been adopted by a member of the former; nor will the 徐 *hü* family marry with the 余 *yü* family, inasmuch as they were once one family, the ƒ having been dropped by some members who had got into trouble with the authorities.

The limit of age for begetting children is fancifully fixed by the Chinese at  $8 \times 8$  years for men, and  $7 \times 7$  years for women, exception being made in favour of 道者 people who have led virtuous lives. The use of aphrodisiacs is strongly reprobated as 殺人多矣 dangerous to life; but here again an exception is made in favour of elderly people who have no children, provided they are persons of great self-control, possessed of 聖賢之心神仙之骨 "hearts like the saints and bones like the gods." Of these 種子方 "prescriptions for begetting children," the name is legion; *e.g.* 三才丸 "pills of the three Powers (heaven, earth, and man)," 素娥丸 "pills of the goddess of the moon," etc., the ingredients in each case, the first apparently for men and the second for women, being quite as fanciful as the name. Recorded instances of successful use of drugs are numerous; *e.g.* a man of 60, whose wife was 52 and who 已絕產念 had abandoned all hope of offspring, became the father of two children.

With regard to childbirth, the first thing is to establish the fact of pregnancy beyond a doubt, and not to be misled by the various false symptoms which the Chinese lump together under the head of 鬼胎 "devil womb." In the 素問 *Su wén*, which is popularly attributed to the legendary Yellow Emperor (B. C. 2698–2598), directions are given for diagnosing pregnancy by the pulse; but of this it is not perhaps necessary to say more than that a certain irregularity in the left-hand pulse indicates a boy, in the right-hand, a girl. Morning sickness is regarded as a symptom, and is checked, if excessive, by pills of dried ginger, giuseng, and *Pinellia tuberifera*, Ten.

Pregnancy being once ascertained, there is a regular course of

preparation which is supposed to be undergone by the prospective mother. It was formulated by a lady of the 9th century, who produced a **女孝經** "Filial Piety Classic for Girls," in imitation of the semi-canonical work which has come down to us from about the 1st century B.C.

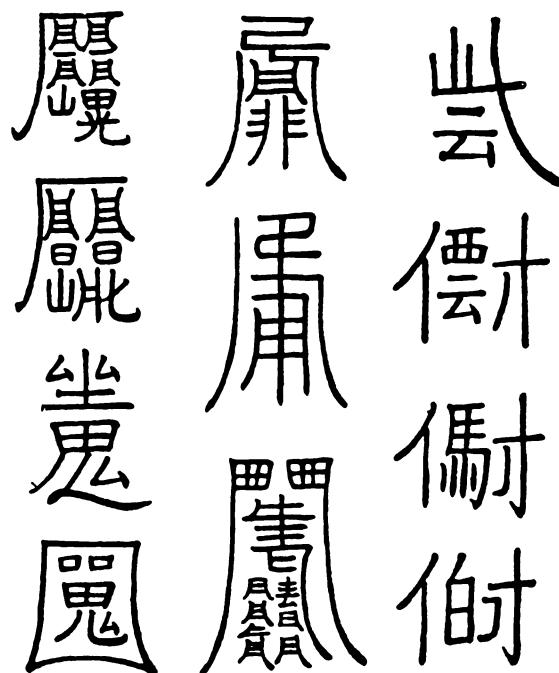
A child's education may begin even before birth. Therefore, the prospective mother of old, when lying down lay straight, when sitting down sat upright, and when standing stood erect. She would not taste strange flavours, nor have anything to do with spiritualism. If her food were not cut straight she would not eat it, and (like Confucius) if her mat were not set straight she would not sit on it. She would not look at any objectionable sight, nor listen to any objectionable sound, nor utter any coarse word, nor handle any impure thing. At night she studied some canonical work; by day she occupied herself with ceremonies and music. Therefore her sons were upright, and eminent for their talents and virtues. Such was the result of ante-natal training.

In China too, as in the West, the prospective mother is warned not to eat hare's flesh, nor even to look at a hare, lest her offspring **無音聲并缺唇** be born dumb, or lest she (in the words of Mr. Yeats)

. . . . . looking on the cloven lips of a hare.  
Bring forth a hare-lipped child.

Other rules for diet are laid down; as for instance in the **千金方** "Priceless Prescriptions" of **孫思貌** Sun Ssü-miao, a notorious Taoist quack of the 7th cent. This writer says that sparrows' flesh and alcohol should be avoided during pregnancy, as they cause children to grow up lascivious and without sense of shame. "The normal period of gestation," we are told, "is ten (lunar) months; but birth is said to occur sometimes after seven or eight, and even

after twelve to fifteen months," an extreme case of three years being on record. Parturition is usually an easy matter with the healthy, nerveless Chinese mother; though a certain number, whose lives might well be saved, perish every year from sheer ignorance and mismanagement. For difficult or delayed birth, acupuncture is



此四符遇胎衣  
不出以朱砂書  
吞下

此三符遇產難  
以墨書吞之

此四符入月一  
日墨書鞋底上一  
密安產婦薄母

下勿令人知

prescribed, but is not always successful. In one case **百餘針竟亦不動** "the needle was inserted over a hundred times without result." Similarly, and also for **橫生** lateral (arm) presentation, charms written on paper are freely used, either to be pasted on the wall of the lying-in room, or on the north wall, or over the head of the bed; sometimes, as in the case of the two columns to the

left of the illustration (p. 351), to be swallowed, or, as in the case of the third column, to be secretly inserted underneath the mattress. The Chinese mother is usually delivered standing, supported under the arms by midwives or relatives; hence the saying, "Man is born upright," based upon 人之生也直 (*Analects*, VI, 17). Prior to this, she is removed to a side apartment, and the husband sends twice a day to enquire after her health. After the birth, the husband goes to the door, where he sees a bow hanging to the left if the child is a boy, and a handkerchief on the right if a girl. So says the Book of Rites; in practice, however, except in wealthy families, these ceremonies are dispensed with.

It is stated in the history of the 晉 Chin dynasty that about the end of the 大明 Ta Ming period (457-465) there was a case in which 破腹生女兒 "the abdominal wall was cut through and a female child born,"—a veritable Cæsarean birth.

The presence of a dead child in the womb is set down to fright or violation of the rules of health above-mentioned, and is explained by 胞衣先破 premature bursting of the placenta, which causes the womb to dry. If the patient's lips and tongue are black, 子母俱死 both child and mother will die.

Meanwhile, the question of sex is uppermost in the thoughts of the parents; and as in Western countries, though for more sufficient reasons even than in the case of titles, a boy is preferred to a girl. The parents' wishes are indeed likely to be gratified, since it has been shown that the percentage of boys born in China is considerably greater than that of girls (W. W. Rockhill in *T'oung pao*, March, 1912), which by the way should help to give the *coup de grâce* to the old fable of the prevalence of female infanticide in a country where every man has a wife and some two or more, the equalization of the sexes being accounted for by emigration, employment of men in more dangerous occupations, etc. (See *post*). Apart from the pulse method above-mentioned, the Chinese do put

forward serious claims to have solved the problem of determination of sex. What these claims may be worth is another matter. One theory is that if 血先至裏精則生男 "the blood comes first and envelops the semen, the child will be a boy, and *vice versa* a girl; if simultaneously, neither; and if 精血分散 there is dispersion of the semen and blood, that will be an indication of twins or triplets." With this explanation of twins it is interesting to compare the latest pronouncement on the subject, by Professor Bateson:—

In human beings twins are of two kinds. With twins of opposite sexes who bear no greater resemblance to each other than ordinary brothers and sisters, it is probably a mere case of multiple birth, as in other kinds of animals. In other cases there appears to be an actual division of the same egg into two individualities; when the two are almost precisely like each other (*The Times*, 24 Jan., 1912).

Another theory is that if conception takes place on the first, third, or fifth day after menstruation, the child will be a boy; on the second, fourth, or sixth, a girl. Compare with the above the investigations of German scientists. Dr. Schoener has recently published in the *Beiträge zur Geburtshilfe* (Leipzig).

Details of a new infallible system by which the sex of infants may be predicted before birth, and may even be determined at the will of the parents. Dr. Schoener's system has nothing in common with the renowned theory of Professor Schenk, who declared that the feeding of the mother was the determining factor. According to the new theory, feeding has nothing to do with the matter, and the male parent has as little. The sex of the children, says Dr. Schoener, is determined before fertilisation, and depends solely upon a regular organic law, in which the mother alone is concerned. The germ-cell which develops into the future child is itself, according to the theory, either male or female. The possibility of determining which it is to be depends upon the fact that these male and female germ-cells are produced alternately at regularly recurring periods. It is not possible to say beforehand what will be the sex of a first child. But once such a child is born, careful calculation will enable medical men

to tell beforehand the sex of its future brothers and sisters; and by observing the same rule people can have children of the sex they desire.

One writer says that 一產三四子者甚多 "three or four at a birth is very common," and indeed many such cases have been duly recorded. He mentions a case which occurred at Yang-chow, between 1457 and 1465, where a woman gave birth to five children, all of whom were brought up.

The arrival of more than one child at a birth is unfavourably regarded, on the ground that 凡物反常則爲妖 "everything that violates the fixed order is uncanny." In the case of twins, one among many sayings is to the effect that 不出十年粟貴十倍 "within ten years the price of corn will go up tenfold;" in the case of triplets that 不出三年外國來 "within three years foreigners will come." In 1663, however, under the reign of the enlightened Manchu Emperor K'ang Hsi, it was ordered, and inserted in the statutes of the empire, that all cases of triplets should be rewarded with ten piculs of rice and ten pieces of cloth. Eleven years later this gratuity was restricted to triplets of boys. Several cases of "Siamese" twins have been recorded. Between A. D. 313 and 317, twin girls were born joined together, face to face, from breast to navel. It was surmised that they had but one heart between them, which gave a humourist of the day a chance to quote the ancient adage, 二人同心其利斷金 "If two men have one heart (q. d. mind), their sharpness will cut through metal." Unfortunately for his interpretation, the Emperor died shortly afterwards, thus giving an unpropitious character to the event. In A. D. 678, two boys of four years of age, who had been born joined together, were sent to Court for exhibition. Their mother had previously given birth to a boy and a girl, similarly joined; and in this case an attempt had been made to cut the ligaments and separate them, but with fatal results. Under A. D. 473, it is recorded that a woman had had four sets of four children

at a birth. In another case, not dated, a woman had twenty-one children, which total included seven sets of twins. .

The child, boy or girl, twin, triplet, quadruplet, or quintuplet, is born good; if he grows up evil, it will be due to his environment. That is the great Confucian dogma, which, kindly and natural enough, is not stretched to include physically or mentally abnormal children.

Instances of monstrosities are frequently recorded. In A. D. 530 we read of a child with one body to two heads, four arms, four feet, and three ears. Between A. D. 550 and 560 there is mention of a child born with two heads; and the consequence of this was said to be "government in the hands of unscrupulous men, and no distinctions between classes." In 873 there was a case of a child with two heads and four arms. In 1195 a child was born with a tail, horns, and wings of flesh. As to tails, there is a record of 垂尾之民 "a tailed race of people" to the southwest, "who have tails three or four inches in length, and who, when they want to sit down, make a hole in the ground, for if the tail were broken off they would die." In this connexion may be mentioned a tradition, which was recorded at a very early date, that in the days which preceded the use of fire and other elements of a dawning civilization, the human race were 有巢 occupants of nests in trees. Now, it was long a theory that orang-outangs did actually build for themselves platform nests as habitations in the trees of their native forests. This belief has recently been confirmed by the action of an orang which escaped from its cage in the Zoological Gardens and made for itself a very practicable nest in a tree alongside the ape-house. Further, the animal known as the 猩 *yu*, otherwise 獽 *chüeh*, a huge ape found in western China, which resembles man and walks upright, is said to be 善登木 "good at climbing trees."

There are instances of children born with complete sets of teeth;

of a boy who by the time he was four years old had a full beard; of another with six arms; of a posthumous child with a very small head, due, so it was said, to the fact that his father had been decapitated. There is a story of an armless and legless man, who was carried about in a small sack and exhibited to crowds of wondering people. "He was shaped like a fish; his face was **甚鉅** very fierce-looking; and his voice was very harsh. He could roll along the ground." A high official of the latter half of the 11th century, named **范鎮** Fan Chén, succeeded in tracing the posthumous child of a brother who had died at a great distance from home by the fact that the latter had four nipples, and from belief that the son would inherit this peculiarity, which turned out to be the case. The commonly accepted method of establishing relationship is by the blood test. Blood from parent and child, or from brothers, will mix if dropped into a basin; whereas that of strangers will not mix. Similarly, the blood of a child or grandchild will sink in if dropped on to a bone of a dead parent or grandparent, but not if the parties are not thus related.

Albinos, popularly known as **天老兒** "congenitally old," appear in China from time to time, and form a more than usually striking feature in a crowd of men and women, all of whom have black hair and black eyes. A case is mentioned under A. D. 301. The prince of Ch'i was raising a volunteer force, and among the families was a boy of eight, whose **髮體悉白** "hair and body were entirely white." He was said to be skilled in divination.

Giants and dwarfs are of common occurrence. An instance of the former is recorded under A. D. 472; his footprints were over three feet long. Notices of a race of pygmies are also given in early Chinese literature.

Several instances of virgin birth are to be found in Chinese records; the earliest and most famous being that of the mother of Hou Chi (c. B. C. 2400), the nominal founder of the Chou dynasty, who

trod on one of God's footprints and conceived. The story is told in the *Odes*:

When she had fulfilled her months,  
Her first-born came forth like a lamb.  
There was no bursting, nor rending,  
No injury, no hurt,—  
In order to emphasize his divinity.  
Did not God give her comfort?  
Had He not accepted her pure offering and sacrifice,  
So that thus easily she brought forth her son?

[The above rendering is Dr. Legge's, with the exception of his line 5, which I cannot accept. The text runs 以赫厥靈, rendered by Dr. Legge "Showing how wonderful he would be." But 靈 means much more than "wonderful."]

That form, however, of abnormal birth which has appealed most strongly to Chinese imagination is the hermaphrodite. So far back as the winter of 1867, I remember being told by my "teacher," who was a Machu and therefore ignorant and superstitious, that there were people who periodically changed their sex. I guessed he meant hermaphrodites, but at that time I was not sure that such beings did actually exist; even now, according to the new Oxford dictionary, the characteristics of the two sexes, the simultaneity of which constitutes the hermaphrodite, are only "to some extent (really or apparently) combined."

The first historical record of an hermaphrodite comes under the year B. C. 322, when we read that in the Wei State there was a girl who changed into a man. This was considered by some to portend disaster to the country; others said, "a man changing into a woman signified that 宮刑濫 the palace punishment (castration, not in our sense of the term, but a *tabula rasa* operation), was carried to excess, whereas a woman changing into a man meant that 婦政行 female government was prevailing." The next case occurred B. C. 4; this time it was a boy changing into a

girl, who subsequently married and bore a son. This phenomenon was interpreted to mean that the dynastic line was coming to an end, which it did about twenty-five years later. In A.D. 202 a boy changed into a girl. The Emperor was reminded of the previous case in B.C. 4, and was warned that the same fate would overtake his house, which actually happened twenty-five years later. Under the year 300 we read of a girl of eight who 漸化 gradually changed into a boy, the process being completed by the time she was seventeen or eighteen. In 306 we read of a child born with 兼男女骨體 the characteristics of both sexes, and 亦能兩用人道 able to use either at will. In 973, a man, just as he was about to marry, changed into a woman. A case is mentioned in the 本草 *Materia Medica*, A.D. 1568, of a married man, aged twenty-eight, who changed into a woman, the process taking no less than four months, at the end of which time menstruation began.

In the period 1621–1628, there was born a girl in Kiangsu, daughter of a high official, who was extremely clever. She was married and lived happily with her husband until about 1640, when she changed into a man and grew a beard. On being sent back to her father, she (now he) adopted man's clothes, married a wife, and took several concubines. Later on he became a captain in the army, and was killed in a riot.

The above instances are by no means all that have been recorded, but are sufficient for the present purpose. There is another kind of metamorphosis, which is scarcely germane to the present subject, but of which innumerable cases are recorded, and that is the sudden and complete change of human beings into tigers. It would seem that there must be something underlying this belief, with which we are not yet familiar.

Abortion is practised in China, but not widely, and not at all among women of respectability. The subject is not dealt with in

medical works, nor is it mentioned in the Penal Code, though of course any magistrate, if he wished to do so, could bring it under the head of offences against public morality. I found it very difficult to obtain any information on the subject; what follows is fairly reliable.

**堕胎方** Prescription for procuring abortion.

Take 3. 5 parts genuine musk to 2. 8 parts fine white face-powder, and 2. 7 parts 猪牙

**皂粉** black powdered artemisia; mix these with the juice from a white root of pounded onion, and make into two balls. Then take a stick of Kiangnan rhubarb, surround one end of it with a ball, fix on with thin silk or cotton wrapping, and insert. Within twenty-four hours abortion will take place.

The writer—for the above is from a document—adds that this proceeding 屬損德 is immoral, though excusable in certain cases; also, that about half the patients die, which he regards as a judgment upon them. Another prescription obtained was one ounce of 牛膝 *Achyranthes bidentata*, Bl., mixed with one-fifth of an ounce of 歸尾, *kuei wei*(?), three or four doses of which brings about the required result, its action being stimulated, if heated with the addition of musk. "But after all," says the writer, there is nothing like the insertion of a thickish piece of *Achyranthes* (root or stem not specified), with the further aid of the midwife's finger." From which it seems clear that the secret of abortion in China is, as elsewhere, a lesion.

Monogamy has always been the rule in China. If a wife has no sons, a man may take a concubine; many indeed do so on far less provocation. This, coupled with the fact that marriage is as nearly as possible obligatory for sons, and that every Chinese man manages to get a wife, gives the *coup de grâce* to the infamous libel, foolishly fostered by the Chinese themselves, that female

infanticide is largely and widely practised in China. For where, it will be asked, is the margin of girls to earmark for that purpose? (See p. 366.)

Polyandry is practically unknown in China. Under the reign of **宣帝** Hsüan Ti, B.C. 73-49, the following case is recorded.

Three men **共娶** all married one woman. She bore four sons; but when the question of division was raised, no settlement could be reached, and the matter went into court. The magistrate, **范延壽** Fan Yen-shou, declared that the whole business was not human, and must be decided according to the rule which obtains among beasts, namely, that the offspring **從母不從父** follows the mother and not the father. He applied for leave to execute the three men and hand the children over to the mother. The Emperor, however, said with a sigh, Why stick to ancient custom, and rigidly carry out a principle, no matter how obnoxious to popular feeling?

Chinese women suckle their children. The bottle was, until recently, quite unknown; but it is difficult to say what changes, advantageous or otherwise, Western civilization may not be bringing in its train. I have been told that the mother will continue suckling her child for so long as three years, which perhaps may be like the nominal period for mourning, reduced to an actual period of twenty-seven months; in any case, full nourishment can hardly be understood. One of the very first things for a Chinese child to learn is to use his right hand when eating. Left-handed persons are extremely rare, and ambidexterity is only cultivated by conjurers and others for special purposes. So soon as the child can speak, if a boy, he is taught to answer **唯** boldly and promptly; if a girl, **俞** gently and softly. The boy wears a girdle of leather; the girl, a girdle of silk. He has a tablet of jade, part of the insignia of official rule, given him to play with; she has a tile (see p. 362). There are no "prams" for Chinese babies, who are sometimes carried in baskets, sometimes slung over the mother's back, and when a little older,

drawn in the old-fashioned four-wheeled cart, once common in the West. Both sexes are early taught to rinse their mouths well in the morning, and later on to use a tooth-brush regularly. Occupants of the humblest cottages can often be seen after daybreak brushing their teeth by the roadside.

Meanwhile, their moral education is carefully attended to, and 常 視 (= 示)毋 謠 they are strictly enjoined to tell the truth. At six years of age, a child begins to learn numbers and the names of places. At seven, the sexes are separated, even for meals. At eight, the boy moves more freely about, and is taught deference to his elders; at nine, he learns the calendar; at ten, he is ready for school, and may even sleep away from home. From the above figures a year must be deducted, as age is reckoned from the day of conception.

Such are the first years of the lives of Chinese children, who pick up by the way, and hand on to the next generation, various conventional signs or gestures, such as are found in most nations. To express excellence and approval, the fist is closed, the thumb detached, and made to point upwards. This is the sign for the numeral *one*; hence, the ordinal *first*, best. The hand held, fingers upwards, with its palm towards any other person, and moved laterally backwards and forwards, is a decided negative, in the sense that it may mean, "Don't go in there!" "We haven't got any!" "Don't hit him!" etc., according to circumstances. In this country, when we beckon to a person to come, we move a hand to and from us with the fingers pointing upwards, as for instance when Mr. Forbes Robertson, as Macbeth, beckoned to the murderers to advance; the Chinese use the same movement, but with the fingers pointing downwards. As with us, the head is shaken or nodded in token of dissent or assent, respectively. Great astonishment is expressed by putting out the tongue; a sense of fear or danger, as when running away, by protecting the head with the hands; and

loathing, *e. g.* of distasteful persons, by loud hawking and expectoration. According to the old rules of life, a boy was capped at twenty and married before thirty; a girl ~~笄~~ put her hair up at fifteen and was married before twenty; the age for marriage is now usually eighteen for the boy, and fifteen for the girl.

The Chinese symbol for man is a picture of a human biped, and this symbol includes woman. A Chinese female says, equally with a Chinese male, 'I am a man.' If it is necessary to emphasize sex, another word is added to 'man,' for men as well as for women, in order that the gender may be clear.

One of the oldest allusions in Chinese literature to women is the much-exploited verse of the *Odes* which tells us that when a girl is born she should be couched upon the ground in token of humility, have a tile—an encaustic tile—to play with in token of the weight which will some day hold the distaff, and indulge in no thoughts beyond her cookery and a constant desire to spare her parents pain. Such was the simple view of woman's sphere which appealed to the ballad-writer of China nearly three thousand years ago.

In the *Book of Rites*, a comparatively modern compilation, dating only from the century before the Christian era, but embodying the precepts and practices of earlier centuries, we find explicit regulations as to the daily life of women, many of which are in full force at the present day. Therein we are told that men and women should not sit together, nor use the same clothes-horse, towel, or comb, nor pass things to one another, lest their hands should touch. Even at sacrifices and funerals a basket should be used by the woman as a receptacle for things handed by and to her. Brothers- and sisters-in-law must not ask one another questions, not even, so says one commentator, as to the state of each other's health; the brothers of a girl who is betrothed may not sit on the same mat with her, nor eat out of the same dish.

In ancient times it was not etiquette for a woman to stand in a

chariot; this, says one commentator, was in order to make a distinction between men and women. But another commentator, a descendant of Confucius, gives a more kindly reason: 'Woman has a delicate frame; she cannot stand in a chariot. Men stand, but women sit.' They sat on the left hand of the driver, next to the hand which was occupied with the reins. This, we are told, was a measure of precaution, lest the driver should put his arm around the lady's waist! The life of a woman was divided under three phases, known as the 'Three Obediences;' while young she was to obey her father and elder brother, after marriage she was to obey her husband, and after her husband's death she was to obey her son. The choice of a husband rested entirely in the hands of her parents, aided always by a third person to carry communications between the two contracting families. So says the *Odes*:

How do we proceed in splitting firewood?

Without an axe it cannot be done.

How do we proceed in taking a wife?

Without a go-between it cannot be done.

Passing into her husband's family and taking his name at marriage, the wife is henceforth to wait upon his parents with the same devotion that she has shown towards her own. At cockcrow she must be up and ready with warm water and towels beside her father- and mother-in-law's bed; together with many other similar observances, which still exist on paper but have long since fallen into desuetude. There are five classes of men to whom a Chinese girl will not be given in marriage; viz., to the son of a rebellious family, to the son of an immoral family, to a man who has been convicted of a criminal offence, to a man with a loathsome disease, and to an eldest son who has buried his father, i.e. the son being of an age at which he could have already contracted a marriage before his father's death.

There are seven reasons which justify divorce; viz., bad behaviour

towards father- and mother-in-law, no children, adultery, jealousy, loathsome disease, nagging, and stealing her husband's goods to give to her own family. But there are three conditions under which the above seven reasons fail to justify divorce; viz., if the wife has no home to go to, if she has twice shared the period of three years' mourning for a parent-in-law, and if she has risen with her husband from poverty to affluence. Divorce, however, is practically unknown.

We read in the *Rites* that a married woman is called 婦 *fu*, which can be analysed into 'the lady with the broom,' to denote her submission (服 *fu* 'to submit') to her husband; but the **白虎通** *Po hu t'ung*, a work of the first century A. D., tells us that the wife is called 妻 *ch'i*, to denote that she is the equal (齊 *ch'i* 'level') of her husband. The latter book also says that a woman cannot hold independent rank of her own, but that, in the quaint Chinese idiom, 'she sits according to her husband's teeth (seniority).'

In Chinese numeration the odd numbers are regarded as female, and the even as male; not because they are so absolutely, but because the female and male principles predominate, with varying percentages, in the odds and evens, respectively. Seven is the female number *par excellence*, containing, as is supposed, a larger percentage of the female principle and a smaller percentage of the male principle than any other unit. At seven months, according to the **素問** Plain Questions, a girl begins to teethe; at seven years her milk teeth fall out; at fourteen she reaches puberty; at twenty-one she cuts her wisdom teeth; at twenty-eight her bones are hard, her hair is at its longest, and her body is in full vigour; at thirty-five her face begins to tan and her hair to fall out; at forty-two her face is withered, her complexion has gone, and her hair is grey; at forty-nine comes the change of life and the first years of old age. The earliest Chinese work devoted to women's affairs, entitled **女誠** *Advice to Women*, is by the distinguished lady who flourished in

the first century A.D., and carried to its conclusion her father and brother's history of the first Han dynasty when death had removed the latter in A.D. 92. In her preface the authoress, Lady 曹 Ts'ao (*née* 班昭 Pan Chao), modestly asserts that she was 'born without intelligence, but enjoyed the favour of her father and the teachings of her mother until she was fourteen years old, now forty years ago, when she took up the dust-pan and broom in the family of the Ts'aos.' 'Boys,' she adds, 'can shift for themselves, and I do not trouble my head about them; but I am grieved to think how many girls enter into marriage without any preparation whatever, and entirely ignorant of what is becoming to a wife.'

The Lady Ts'ao arranges her advice to girls under appropriate headings, such as humility, husband and wife, general deportment, etc.

Be humble and respectful; put others in front and yourself behind; do not boast of your successes, nor excuse your failures; bear contumely and swallow insult; be always as though in fear and trembling.

A wife should be as the shadow and echo of her husband.

Woman's energies have a fourfold scope: behaviour, speech, appearance, and duties. For right behaviour, no great mental talents are needed; for right speech, no clever tongue nor smart repartee; for right appearance, no great beauty; and for right duties, no special cunning of hand. In simplicity, in purity, in a sense of shame and of propriety, will right behaviour be found. In choice of language, in avoidance of bad words, in seasonable and not too prolonged talk, will right speech be found. In thorough cleanliness of apparel, and in regular use of the bath, will right beauty be found. In undivided attention to spinning and weaving, without laughing and playing, and in seeing that food and wine are properly served, will right duties be found. These four offer scope to the energies of woman; they must not be neglected. There need be no difficulty, if only there is determination. A philosopher of old said, 'Is goodness really so far off? I wish for goodness, and lo! here it is.'

A highly educated woman herself, the Lady Ts'ao pleaded for education for her sex, and a return to the practice of ancient days when girls between the ages of eight and fifteen were taught the same subjects that were taught to boys.

**顏之推** Yen Chih-t'ui, a famous scholar and statesman who

flourished A. D. 535-595, left behind him a work entitled **家訓** *Family Instructions*, which has come down to us intact.

Let the wife (he says) look after the cooking and attend to the ceremonial connected with wine and food and clothing. She should not interfere in the government of the State, nor meddle with the family affairs. If she is clever and talented, acquainted with the conditions of ancient and modern times, then she should be employed as an aid to her husband, supplying that in which he may be deficient; but there must be no crowing at dawn in the place of the cock, with all the sorrow that this entails.

Yen complains that in certain parts of the Empire 'women's equipages block the streets, silks and satins throng the public offices and temples, while mothers and wives beg posts for their sons and promotion for their husbands.'

In another place he points out that the varied products of the loom have proved a curse to the female sex, and he quotes the old saying: **盜不過五女之門** 'There is no thief like a family of five daughters.' On the other hand, he strongly denounces infanticide, cases of which he quotes as occurring in the family of a distant relative of his. 'There,' he says, 'if a girl is born, she is immediately carried away, the mother following with tears and cries, but all of no avail; truly shocking!'

This is perhaps the earliest recorded protest against a crime which seems to have been always practised more or less in all countries, but not more in China than elsewhere, as the following argument will show.

Every Chinese man has a wife; high officials and rich merchants often have two or three concubines; the Emperor is allowed seventy-two. If, then, female children are destroyed in such numbers as to constitute a national crime, it must follow that girls are born in an overwhelmingly large proportion to boys (see *post*).

Between A. D. 785 and 830 lived five remarkable sisters named Sung, all of whom possessed considerable literary talent, and especially the two elder ones. They refused to marry, and devoted themselves

to literature, being finally received into the Palace, where in due course they all died natural deaths, with the exception of the fourth Miss Sung, against whom charges of accepting bribes were trumped up, the result being that she was forced to 'take silk'—in other words, to strangle herself. The eldest sister wrote a book called **女論語** *Discourses for Girls*, based upon the famous *Discourses of Confucius*. It is in an easy style of versification, and is generally suited to the comprehension of the young.

When walking, do not look back;  
When talking, do not open wide your lips;  
When sitting, do not rock your knees;  
When standing, do not shake your skirt;  
When pleased, do not laugh aloud;  
When angry, do not shout;  
Do not peep over the outside wall;  
Do not slip into the outer court;  
When you go out, veil your face;  
When you peep, conceal your body;  
With a man not of the family  
Hold no conversation whatever.

The authoress then proceeds to inculcate submission and obedience, filial piety, diligent performance of household duties, etc., etc., coupled always with a certain amount of book-learning, not so much as might perhaps have been expected from such a literary lady. From what has been already said, it might be supposed that the ordinary Chinese wife would hardly be able to call her soul her own—a condition of affairs altogether at variance with the real position of women as seen in China at the present day, where even school-girls are already clamouring for the vote. The following extract, however, from an article by **于義方** Yü I-fang of the T'ang dynasty (618—906), and entitled **黑心符** 'A Charm against the Black-Hearted,' would seem to suggest that Chinese women more than a thousand years ago knew very well how to take care of themselves, and successfully held their own, as they still continue to do, against the brutality of men.

If the wife does not rule, the family can be properly governed, just as a State can be properly governed if the Minister does not rule the Prince, and the empire can be properly governed if the Prime Minister does not rule the Emperor. For if husband and wife occupy their proper places, the empire will be correctly organized; and if families are correctly organized, the empire will be at peace.

The *Lun Yü* teaches us that women and servants are difficult to deal with; if you are familiar with them, they lose their respect for you; if you are distant to them, they lose their tempers.

The *Book of History* tells us that for the hen to do the crowing at dawn brings ruin upon the family. The *Book of Changes* warns us that the wife's chief business should be to look after the cooking. And in the *Odes* wives are exhorted to observe regulations, so that the spirits of ancestors may be duly honoured and they themselves be admitted to the sacrificial banquet.

Duke 威 Wei allowed his wife 文姜 Wén-chiang to have her own way, the result being that he lost his life and jeopardized the State of Lu. The Emperor Kao Tsu was afraid of his consort Lü, the result being disturbances which nearly brought the Han dynasty to an end. The Emperor Wén Ti fell under the influence of his Empress, and by changing the succession caused the downfall of his line. The Emperor Kao Tsung became enslaved by the beauty of 武媚 Wu Mei, and so lost all power. And if rulers of 10,000-charioted States will do these things, what will not one of the cotton-clothed masses do?

Then, again, there is the remarriage of widowers and widows. In the latter case the absence of all sentiment, such as is evoked when the hair is put up for the first time, often means that the marriage is a mere question of personal convenience. How can such auspices prove favourable? In the former case we know how Madam 閔 Min clothed her step-son in rushes only, and how Madam 許 Hsü beat hers with an iron pestle; and such instances are common enough.

As to the ordinary husband, enslaved by his wife's good looks or cajoled by her cunning talk, he degenerates beyond all hope into mere uxoriousness. The wife gradually gains ground, while his power is gradually whittled away, until at length he is as though pincers closed his mouth, not allowing him to utter a sound; as though a halter were around his neck, not allowing him to turn his head; as though fetters were upon his body, not allowing him to have the slightest freedom of action. Even personal questions of heat and cold, hunger and satiety, incoming and outgoing, uprising and downsitting, are no longer matters for him, but for her, to decide. If she says he is to be untruthful, wanting in duty, disloyal, or unkind, it only remains for him to obey. Even if she bids him do things which the lowest barbarians and even dogs and pigs would not do, he

must do them. If she orders him to slay anyone, he must be annoyed only that the head is slow in falling; if she tells him to kill himself, he must fear only lest there be slowness in fetching the knife. When she curses and abuses him, he must receive her with a smile; when she beats him with all her might, he must repeatedly admit his fault. Whenever he offends her, he must fall down on his knees and beg pardon; whatever service he performs for her must be done unflinchingly. He may not recognize the authority of elder relatives; no, only the authority of his wife. He may not recognize the claims of younger relatives; no, only the claims of his wife. His friends and neighbours may say that such behaviour has never been heard of since the world began, yet all the time there he stands, with the sweat trickling down to his heels, with blood running over his chest, in fear, in abject terror, quivering and quaking at every harsh word and severe look from his wife. What help is there for him? Having a home, he lets his wife be the head of it; if he had a State, he would let his wife rule it; if he had the Empire, he would let his wife be the Son of Heaven! As Magistrate or Prefect, he allows her to appear in public and sit with him on the bench, discuss cases, vigorously assert herself, and flit about from hall to hall—powder and paint deciding rewards and punishments, petticoats and bodices holding in their folds the issues of life and death.

Now, although the world is getting old, we still recognize some distinction between right and wrong; and although our morals are decaying, we are still able to distinguish the wicked from the good. And if a Minister were to behave as these women do, his sovereign would slay him; if a friend behaved thus, his friend would discard him; if a neighbour behaved thus, his neighbours would get rid of him; if an ordinary citizen behaved thus, the authorities would punish him; if a son behaved thus, his weeping parents would turn him adrift; if a brother behaved thus, his brothers would unite against him; if a father, grand-father, or uncle behaved thus, sons, grandsons, and nephews would change their manner and flee north, south, east, and west, in order to avoid them.

But now, when the wife says 'tis misty, there is a fog; when she says there is thunder, it peals; if she stretches herself, it lightens; if she turns around, it blows. At her whim spring becomes autumn, black is white, here is there, and a woman is a man. She is never happier than when setting everybody at cross-purposes, and this sort of thing goes on for years, sometimes more, sometimes fewer, until teeth and hair are gone, and the span of life is exhausted. All the time she is laying hands on whatever property and valuables she can secure, and at length it becomes self-evident that such a matrimonial alliance is nothing better than a dismal failure.

Meanwhile the besotted husband ceases to be employed by his sovereign,

to be received by his friends, or to be recognized in his parish. His brothers are cool to him, and his children and grandchildren no longer flock around him; so true is the saying that if a man is not more lofty than a mountain, the devils will sink him lower than the abyss. And now, when too late, he mourns over the desolation of his home. His very grave stinks; but there is still more dishonour to come. His widow marries again.

The famous historian Ssü-ma Kuang, A. D. 1019—1086, published a short work on *家儀* *Family Decorum*, in which he enlarges upon the behaviour of a daughter-in-law. In addition to constant attentances upon her husband's parents, waiting upon them at meals and in the bedroom, she is bidden to show them the greatest respect, to answer their questions in lowered tones, and reverently to support or aid them when walking about. She may not spit nor shout in their presence, nor sit, nor leave the room, unless permitted to do so by them. When they are sick, she must not leave them except for some urgent reason, and all their medicines must be prepared and administered by her. If she has to leave the women's apartments, she must veil her face, as also in any case when men approach.

Chu Hsi, the great statesman, commentator, and historian, A. D. 1110—1200, also had his say.

According to Ssü-ma Kuang, a woman either makes or mars the family into which she goes. If a man marries for money and position he will get the money and position, but his wife will hold him cheap and be rude to his parents. She will develop a proud and jealous disposition, than which there can be no greater curse. How can any self-respecting man bear to become rich with his wife's money, or rise to high positions through his wife's influence?

According to *安定胡* An Ting-hu, a man should marry his daughter into a family somewhat above his own, for then she will perform her duties respectfully and with care. On the other hand, he should get his daughter-in-law from a family somewhat below his own, for then she will serve her husband's parents as befits a wife.

Asked if a man should marry a widow, Chu Hsi replied: 'The object of marriage is to get a helpmeet; if a man marries for that purpose one who sacrifices her reputation, it simply means that he

sacrifices his own.' Further asked, if a poor lone widow without means of subsistence might marry again, he replied: 'What you are afraid of for her is cold and starvation; but starvation is a comparatively small matter, and loss of reputation is a great one.'

**袁采** Yüan Ts'ai, of the twelfth century, wrote a treatise on social life in which he has a good many remarks about women, who, he says, are the causes of all bickerings, 'and whose views are neither broad, nor far-reaching, nor catholic, nor just.'

In dress (he says) women should aim at cleanliness, and not try to be different from others. All such persons as Buddhist and Taoist nuns, professional go-betweens, female brokers, and women who pretend to peddle needles, embroideries, &c., should be rigidly excluded from the house; for to their presence may be traced the disappearance of clothing and other articles, not to mention that they often lead young girls astray.

The Empress Consort of the Emperor Yung Lo of the Ming dynasty in A. D. 1405 committed to paper her thoughts on the behaviour of women, under the title of **內訓** *Instructions for the Inner Apartments*, i. e. for Women. These are arranged under twenty headings, with an additional chapter on the education of girls. The Empress lays much stress on gentleness, good temper, economy, kind treatment of the young and of relatives, but thinks that speech unrestrained is the real rock upon which most women split.

If your mouth is like a closed door, your words will become proverbial; but if it is like a running tap, no heed will be paid to what you say.

In her additional chapter on education, which is really a more or less doggerel poem of about 350 lines, our authoress will be considered very disappointing by some. So far from pleading for higher education for Chinese women, she urges only that a girl's governess should teach her pupil to practise filial piety, virtue, propriety, deportment, good manners, and domestic duties, as a preparation for her entry into married life. Then, if she has no children to continue the ancestral line, she is not to show jealousy, but rather satisfaction,

if her husband takes a subordinate wife. Supposing that he dies before her, she will be left like Earth without its Heaven, and must transfer her dependence to her son, and summon up her resolution to face widowhood until death. Mount T'ai may crumble away, or she may have to walk over sharp-edged swords, but this resolve must not pass from her. Examples are given of heroines of all ages who have died by hanging or drowning themselves rather than violate their marriage vow.

Their bodies indeed suffered injury in life, but their names will be fragrant for ten thousand generations.

In a work by a certain 王 Wang (no record) of the Ming dynasty, we find two sections, headed 昏前 *Before Marriage* and 昏後 *After Marriage*. Besides repetition of the usual injunctions, we find here that girls are specially warned not to be greedy, and on no account to drink wine, 'which destroys all reverence and caution, and encourages unseemly behaviour.'

A girl (we are told) need not necessarily be a scholar. The girls of ancient times, however, invariably familiarized themselves with such works as *The Classic of Filial Piety*, *The Discourses of Confucius*, *Advice to Women*, and *Instructions for Women*, and there is every reason why these should be studied; but book-learning is not meant to be women's speciality, and as for poetry and songs, these are altogether out of the question.

A volume might easily be compiled from Chinese literature of uncomplimentary references to women and indignities which have been heaped upon them.

Nine women out of ten are jealous.

When a woman is young she is a goddess, when old a monkey.

Three-tenths of beauty is beauty, seven-tenths is dress.

The tooth of the bamboo-snake and the sting of the hornet cannot be compared for poison with a woman's heart.

The goodness of a woman is like the bravery of a coward.

A woman may attain to high rank, but she will still be a woman.

Women should have nothing to do with government.

During the winter months 楊國忠 Yang Kuo-chung (a dissipated ruffian who was massacred A. D. 756) would often cause a selection of

the fattest ladies from his seraglio to stand about him, in order to keep off the draught. This was called his 'flesh screen.'

It has often been pointed out that most of the characters in the Chinese language which have a bad meaning contain the symbol for 'woman.' There is, at any rate, one striking exception, and that is the common character for 好 'good,' which is composed of 女 'woman' and 子 'child.'

Of course there are some points to be quoted on the other side, such as the fact that in ancient days women were not made to kneel, even in the ancestral temple; that at the present day they are spared the indignity of the bamboo, etc., etc. Tso-ch'iü Ming, the annalist of the fourth or fifth century B.C., was not quite sure that women were wholly bad, as witness his saying.

The goodness of women is inexhaustible; their resentment is everlasting,  
the latter half of which reminds us of Byron's famous line,

Revenge is sweet, especially to women.

Then again, the hundreds, nay thousands, of beautiful poems, funeral orations, panegyrics, and mortuary inscriptions which have been written by bereaved sons and husbands in various ages, and which may still be read, place it beyond doubt that the position of women in China, notwithstanding cookery and domestic subordination, has always been a very high one. But the sum total would still leave a heavy balance against the women were it not for certain considerations which will perhaps enable us to leave off with a slightly better taste in the mouth.

Apart from the fact that the mother in China plays a part equal in importance to that of the father, sharing his honours and the deference and obedience of their children, and enjoying in the same degree the consolations of worship and sacrifice after death, not to mention three years' mourning, it remains to be stated that the Chinese people have carefully embalmed in their extensive litera-

ture the names and lives of distinguished women for many centuries past. A rough survey of a single collection of women's biographies has yielded the following results, the paragraphs within quotation marks being short translated extracts which caught the eye.

Of the fourteen headings under which women have been classified, the first is 淑 *shu*, a term which includes high-principled, good women, especially wives and mothers. Over 400 examples are recorded. The term is also applied to modest girls, who do not 抛頭 "fling their heads" at the public. Over two thousand years ago, 墨子 Mo Tzū said, 美女不出則爭求之、行而自衒人莫之娶 "If pretty girls keep away, people will struggle to get them; if they push themselves into notice, no one will marry them."

A certain scholar being asked 'why he composed a funeral oration [these are burnt at the grave] on his mother and not on his father, replied that a man can make his virtues known by his actions, whereas but for a funeral oration a wife's virtues would remain concealed.' A mother who was 'one day inspecting the treasury of her son (a high official) noticed that it was well filled with money. Then, turning to her son, she said, "Your father held high posts for many years in the capital and in the provinces, yet he never collected such a sum as this; from which you can see how immeasurably inferior you are to him.'"

The second heading is 孝 *hsiao*, which is restricted to filial piety. About 775 examples are given.

The third heading is 義 *i*, which includes self-sacrificing, chivalrous women, with whom duty is a first consideration. About 475 examples are given.

A certain man being killed in battle the general sent an officer to condole with his mother. 'Our family,' said the latter, 'consisting of 300 souls, have long battened on the Imperial bounty. Complete extermination would scarcely repay the favours we have received; shall we then grudge a single son? Pray think no more about it.'

The fourth heading is 爭 *lieh*, which includes all women who heroically prefer death to dishonour, and even suicides who prefer death to outliving their husbands. Of these, about 6,000 biographies are recorded.

The fifth heading is 爭 *chieh*, which includes women who have refused to enter into second nuptials, sometimes acting in strenuous opposition to the wishes and even orders of parents. Many of the ornamental gateways scattered over China have been erected to the chaste widow, who, as popular opinion goes, should have been under thirty at the death of her husband, and have maintained her widowhood for thirty years.

The sixth heading is 聰 *shih*, which includes wise and capable women, examples of whom number over 300.

One of these ladies would not allow the women of her household to dress in the prevailing fashion. Another bade her daughter on the latter's wedding day 'not to be a good girl.' 'Am I then to be a bad girl?' asked the daughter, who mistook the sense of the Chinese word 'to be,' which also signifies 'to do,' 'to play the part of.' 'If you are not to be a good girl,' replied the mother, 'it follows naturally that you are not to be a bad one.'

The seventh heading is 聰 *tsao*, and includes women who have made themselves eminent in any department of literature. About 510 examples are given, mostly poetesses. One of these, a deserted wife, whose husband had gone off to his post with a favourite concubine, leaving her to herself, achieved a feat which certainly has not been surpassed even in monastic annals. She wove a handkerchief, about a foot square, containing 841 Chinese characters (29  $\times$  29) arranged in a symmetrical design of five colours, red, blue, yellow, green, and purple. These 841 words formed a kind of palindrome, which could be read in so many different ways as to form more than 200 quatrains of Chinese poetry, bearing on the injustice of her position and correct in all the intricate details which belong to the art. This

she forwarded to her husband, with the result that the concubine was dismissed and she herself restored to her proper position. This happened in the fourth century A. D. It was first published by Imperial order in A. D. 692 and has come down to the present day. The eighth heading is 婦 *hui*, which includes witty and clever women. Only seven examples are recorded.

The ninth heading is 奇 *chi*, which includes all remarkable women, such as those who have put on man's dress and have gone to the wars, great huntresses, and even one who was distinguished at football, also women who have risen from the dead, who have been taken up to heaven, who have been buried alive, who have had large families, women with no arms or with a short allowance of fingers, hairy women, bearded women, hermaphrodites, etc., etc. About 250 examples are given.

The tenth heading is 藝 *chiao*, which includes artistic women, distinguished for music, painting, etc. Of these only twenty-six examples are given, a number which is far below the mark in any one branch of the arts.

The eleventh heading is 福 *fu*, which includes women who have been exceptionally blessed in this world. Of these twenty examples are given. The first was wife of a descendant of Confucius; she flourished at the beginning of the Christian era, and had eight ones. The second had nine distinguished sons, known as the Nine Dragons. The third was the mother of two sons, one of whom (Li Kuang-pi) was a famous general, d. A. D. 763, and the other also rose to eminence. As an additional but to Western eyes a more doubtful blessing, this lady 'had a beard of several tens of hairs over five inches in length.' Other examples are those of women who lived long and useful lives, in one case reaching an age of 120 years.

The twelfth heading is 美 *yen*, which includes women of great beauty. Of these only forty-five examples are given; to make up for which there is quite an extensive literature on beauty in the abstract, essays,

panegyrics, and ballads, useful and otherwise, made to the (moth) eyebrows of mistresses.

Some idea of the standard of beauty in ancient China may be gathered from an account which has come down to us of the young lady who was married in A. D. 148 to the young Emperor, then sixteen years of age.

Her face (we are told) was a mixture of glowing sunrise clouds and snow, and of such surpassing loveliness that it was impossible to look straight at her. Her eyes were like sparkling waves; she had a rosy mouth, gleaming teeth, long ears, and a tip-tilted nose; her jet-black hair shone like a mirror, and her skin was glossy and smooth. She had blood enough to colour her fat, fat enough to ornament her flesh, and flesh enough to cover her bones. From top to toe she measured 5 feet 4 inches; her shoulders were 1 foot  $2\frac{2}{3}$  inches, and her hips  $11\frac{1}{10}$  inches, in breadth; from shoulder to fingers she measured 2 feet  $0\frac{3}{10}$  inches; her fingers, exclusive of the palm, were  $3\frac{3}{5}$  inches in length, and like ten tapering bamboo shoots; from the hips to the feet she measured 2 feet  $4\frac{4}{5}$  inches; and her feet were  $7\frac{1}{6}$  inches in length.

These measurements are English equivalents of Chinese measurements. Add to the above 'eyes like split almonds, teeth like shells,' 'teeth like the seeds in a water melon,' 'eyebrows like those of the silkworm moth,' 'waists like willow wands' but no stays, 'lips like cherries,' and you have a fair picture of what the Chinese admire in a woman. Yüan Ts'ai (already quoted) recalls his lady-love in ten quatrains, as he has seen her under ten conditions, viz., walking, sitting, drinking, singing, writing, gambling, weeping, laughing, sleeping, and dressing. She walks—it is the poetry of motion; she sits—it is the harmony of repose; she drinks—and the wine adds a lustre to her eyes; she sings—and black clouds turn to white; she writes—about turtle-doves; she gambles—and smiles when she loses; she weeps—at parting; she laughs—in golden tones; she sleeps—like a fragrant lily; she dresses—limning her eyebrows like those of the silkworm moth.

The Chinese themselves are not agreed as to the origin or reason

of foot-binding (see *ante*, p. 280). It was well pointed out so early as the twelfth century by 張邦基 Chang Pang-chi that none of the great poets of the T'ang dynasty (606-918) make any allusion to the custom. Only in one instance is there a reference to a lady's foot of six inches in length; and although that may be reckoned small, the T'ang foot measure being shorter than that of the present day, still, the writer adds, there is absolutely no mention of the employment of artificial means.

The thirteenth heading is 憾 *hén*, which includes women who have been the victims of great misfortune or injustice. Of these over 200 examples are recorded.

The fourteenth and last heading is 唤 *wū*, which includes women who have 'awakened' to a sense of religious inspiration, and those who have come in any way under religious influences. For instance, the daughter of one of China's great poets, Liu Tsung-yüan, A. D. 773-819, was attacked with a serious malady. As she did not get better, her name was changed from 'Harmony' to 'Handmaid of Buddha'; and on her recovery, attributed of course to the change of name, she shaved her head and became a Buddhist nun. Another lady is immortalized because, when her husband was contemplating an essay entitled 無佛論 'There is no Buddha,' she stopped him by aptly observing, 既曰無又何論 'If there is no Buddha, how can you write an essay about him?'

The number of separate biographical notices under the above fourteen headings reach a total of over 24,000, *i.e.* nearly as many as all the lives, mostly of men, included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Like those, they range in length from a few lines to several pages; in any case, these lives form a monumental record, built up chiefly in honour of women, such as no other nation in the world can pretend to rival.

## NOTES ON BOOKS

Since the last issue of *Adversaria* a considerable number of works on China have come to hand. Among the earliest to be received was Mr. Jenner's handsome little volume entitled "The Nanking Monument of the Beatitudes." This work is of interest chiefly for the photograph of the T'ai-p'ing monument, destroyed by the Imperialists, which appears as frontispiece, and for a short unpublished poem by Kuo Sung-tao, the first resident Chinese Minister to the Court of St. James's. Almost the whole tablet is occupied by a huge 福 *fu*, here used for "blessed," above which the beatitudes are given in twenty-three columns of small-sized characters. As regards the translation of the beatitudes, there is the same old story of mis-rendering which confronts one in all attempted versions of the Bible. So far back as 1881 (*China Review*, vol. X, p. 155), I showed that "Blessed are the poor in spirit"—which according to Bishop Porteus means "humble and lowly minded," an exegesis which Professor Burkitt tells me is altogether inaccurate, the original reference being to actual poverty, softened by St. Matthew in order to avoid an appearance of socialistic tendencies—could not be interpreted by 心貧者, inasmuch as there was no such idiom in the Chinese language, and even if there were, it could not have the meaning required. Neither can it be rendered, as here and in all the other versions I have seen, by 虛心者, which refers to mental abstraction, freedom from prejudice, etc.

A Christian amah, employed in my family, who could speak and write English to some extent, was asked to set down what she

thought was the meaning of 以其將得土也, supposed to be an intelligible translation of "for they shall inherit the earth," which again according to Bishop Porteus, means "inherit calmness and composure of spirit, peace and comfort of mind," but according to Professor Burkitt means precisely what it says, namely, become a proprietor of land. What the amah wrote down was this:—"By and by can catchee plenty mud." It may be questioned if the character 土 adequately represents the Greek  $\tau\alpha\gamma\gamma$ ; in any case, the amah seems to have come nearer to a correct interpretation even than Bishop Porteus.

The truth is that the native scribe, otherwise the real translator, is so hampered by his foreign collaborator, that even if he himself understands what is intended to be conveyed, and is further fitted for the task (both of which conditions are often absent), he is not at liberty to put it down in language intelligible to his countrymen. Which brings me to a curious point. It is popularly believed in this country that the European "translator" of a Gospel, a hymn, a novel, or what not, into Chinese, is one who takes up his pen and writes down the Chinese text out of the knowledge of the language which he has gained after some years, more or less, of study. Nothing could be further from what is the actual fact. The foreign "translator" is never capable of a sustained effort of composition in Chinese. A few, very few, of the best scholars have succeeded perhaps in writing a conventional letter or drafting a dispatch; but in such documents, style hardly comes into play. The rule is that the foreigner explains in colloquial, as best he can, the substance of what he wishes to see transferred into the Chinese book-language; and then, if he is anything of a student, he can check the general sense of the result. Sometimes, grotesque blunders are made, not only in the translation of the Bible and other Christian documents, but in that of ordinary literature. For instance, Dr. Y. K. Yen undertook to translate chapter I of Herbert Spencer's

"Education," and this is what he made of the first sentence: 曠觀列國之人、皆以粧飾爲事、即如衣服亦爲美觀、而不以爲護身體之用皆如此已 "Wide observation of the peoples of the various nations shows that ornamentation occupies an important place with all; thus in clothing, elegance is more sought after than protection of the body." What Spencer wrote was this: "It has been truly remarked that, in order of time, decoration precedes dress,"—a sentence which seems to run of itself into Chinese, and which might be submitted to a competent Chinese literate somewhat as follows: 所謂先文後衣不亦實乎; that is, ten words of Chinese to thirteen of English, which is about the average. Considering the number of foreign books which now, under the republican government, are being translated into Chinese, it would be just as well to make sure that there is a close adherence to the original meaning.

But I am wandering from the subject, which is the impromptu poem by Kuo Sung-tao, above-mentioned, "inscribed in an album (*circa* 1876)," and forming, so Mr. Jenner says, "a record full of tender memories to the survivors among those assembled on the occasion referred to." Here is the poem:

華燈明鏡照階除  
天氣微寒近雨餘  
坐中長老談元理  
酒酣惠我福音書

No translation is given, and I doubt if any of the guests had the remotest idea of what the Minister had penned; but Mr. Jenner says that "Chinese scholars will be able to trace, with varying degrees of accuracy, the nature of these memories." The lines seem simple enough even for a student-interpreter, who in sinology plays the part of Macaulay's schoolboy. This is the picture which they limn for me (read from left to right, horizontally):

The steps are gay with coloured lamps and rays from mirrors bright  
The weather has turned chilly, and it looks like rain to-night.  
We talk about great mysteries as we sit, a veteran band,  
And when we're drunk you kindly press the Gospel in my hand.

The Herr Direktor des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen is kind enough to send me copies of the Ostasiatische Studien edited by Professor Dr. R. Lange and Professor Dr. A. Forke. It is not so very long since Germany had no position worth mentioning as regards the language and literature of China, and cognate studies. But times have changed; Germany's commercial interests in China have enormously developed, and the German government has wisely promoted Chinese studies in every possible way. As a natural result, German scholars are now producing monographs and volumes of various kinds and of considerable value, many of the former being collected together in the periodical under review, of which the present issue is the third number, coupled with excellent illustrations, and forming a royal 8vo volume of nearly 400 pages. We have nothing like this in England. The Royal Asiatic Society confines its attention to Indian subjects, and does nothing to encourage the study of Chinese. It would be worth the while of the new China Society to consider the possible publication of papers read at their meetings in the form of a magazine open to receive other articles, notes, etc., on Chinese topics, after the style of the defunct *China Review*. Of course, France has always been at the head of sinological studies, ever since the days of the early Jesuits; and the incessant stream of such works as "Le T'ai Chan" and the "Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale," by Professor Chavannes, Membre de l'Institut, "Recherches sur les Mussulmans Chinois," by le Commandant d'Ollone and Professor Vissière, the "Variétés Sinologiques," and others, easily enables her to retain her ancient position. Sympathy with orientalism, and a capacity for interpreting oriental feeling, seem almost to belong by prescriptive right to France. At the same time, Germany has always been well to the fore in

classical as well as scientific efforts, and there is certainly no reason why she should not make at any rate a bid for a front place in Chinese. England, with all her enormous interests at stake, will have to take a back seat. She does not support a single educated Chinese in this country,—I do not include a mere teacher of colloquial,—and the difficulty of making headway without such assistance, and with all the drudgery inseparable from the study of Chinese, is great indeed.

Meanwhile, certain points in the present number of the *Mitteilungen* call for revision. For instance, on p. 267 of Dr. Visser's interesting article on "The Snake in Japanese Superstition" we have a note saying that the 搜神記 *Sou* (or *seu*, but not *sheu*, as twice on p. 269) *shén chi* was "written by Yü Pao 子寶 (or Kan Pao 干寶)." The former was a mistake of Mayers', which, like his 范睢 *Fan Sui* (for *Fan Chü*), seems to give perennial trouble to students. On the same page, Dr. Visser talks of the 搜神後記 as "written by 陶潛 *T'ao Ch'ien*," an error exposed by Wylie (*Notes*, p. 154), who however refers the book to the 隋 *Sui* dynasty, although the Chinese include it in the 唐宋叢書 *Reprints of the T'ang and Sung dynasties*. On the same page, too, we have the 子不語 "written by Sui Yuen 隨園," a fancy name, instead of by 袁梅 *Yüan Mei*; also, *ch'wen* for *傳 chuan*, *chuen*, or anything you like, so long as there is no aspirate. This same blunder disfigures the catalogue of Lord Crawford's Chinese books throughout; and the British Museum Chinese catalogue of 1877 only escapes because no aspirates at all are given in it from beginning to end,—a drastic system invented in the dark ages by Morrison,—which lands us with 唐 *tang*, 太 *tae*, 春 *chun*, 羣 *keun*, 陳 *chin*, 沈 *chin* (a surname for which Dr. Visser wrongly gives *ch'en*), and similar impossibilities. The latter catalogue requires to be entirely re-written according to the lights of modern scholarship; and in order to make it of more direct value to Chinese scholars, all

works being translations from English into Chinese should be omitted and form, if necessary, a separate volume. As it stands, our catalogue has already become openly the laughing-stock of continental scholars (see *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient*, tome XI, 1 and 2, p. 211, note), and I fear that a great deal of correction will be necessary before it can begin to take rank with the catalogue of the Chinese section of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* by Professor Maurice Courant, 1902—1912. Mistakes in Chinese, as in other matters, are always to be deplored, if for no other reason than for the awkward consequences entailed on workers in other subjects. Thus, Dr. A. C. Haddon's "Wanderings of Peoples," a most interesting and scholarly volume, tells us that "Fu-Hien (*sic*) visited Java in the fifth or fourth cent. B. C." His authority is "Fritsch, G., *Globus* XCI, 1907, p. 18," where we read (on p. 14), "Im vierten oder fünften Jahrh. v. Chr. soll der Chinese Fu-Hien Java besucht und es Japhothi oder Scheh-poh genannt haben."

Among the most valuable of recent German works on China may be mentioned Professor A. Forke's completed version of the 論衡 *Lun héng* by 王充 Wang Ch'ung, which will take its place as one of the best translations from Chinese classical literature. We also vainly seek in this country for such a magnificent contribution to Far Eastern art as the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, the second number of which has recently been issued under the joint editorship of Herren Otto Kümmel and William Cohn. The class of work we do provide in this country for readers who wish to know something about Chiua, is aptly illustrated by the following book.

"China as it really is," by "a resident in Peking who was born in China and spent two-thirds of his life there," ought in my opinion to have been named "China as it mostly isn't." The portions of this book to which I have no objection seem to have been borrowed from existing works on Chinese institutions. No new light, so far as I can see, is thrown upon any subject in particular, unless

it be from such gems as these:—(p. 156) “The importance of the tones may be illustrated by the character ‘mai;’ in the second tone this means to sell; in the third tone, to buy.”..... (p. 157) “Another difficulty is a sense of the tense: here again, there is no guiding syntax. ‘Lai-la’ may mean ‘he has come’ or ‘he is coming.’ These are simple illustrations of the difficulties of the colloquial language.” They are, too, most effective illustrations of the colossal ignorance of the writer. Such rubbish is perhaps harmless; not so, certain general statements in which the Chinese people are bitterly maligned and held up to public scorn. In one of these statements I have always taken a great personal interest, and make no apology for re-introducing the question of female infanticide. I will let the resident in Peking adjust the noose and pull the drop for himself.

- (a) P. 32.—Girls preponderate in China as elsewhere.
- (b) P. 34.—Infanticide is certainly not practised with male offspring, and it is equally certain that with regard to female children it is a very widespread custom.
- (c) P. 35.—The putting away of females in their infancy is, however, there can be no doubt, a practice largely observed amongst the poorer classes.
- (d) P. 41—A henpecked husband can dally with his second or third or fourth wife—for though a Chinaman has only one wife, he is allowed any number of concubines.
- (e) P. 46.—There is scarcely a Chinaman of age who is not married; old maids are unknown.
- (f) P. 48.—There is scarcely a man over twenty unmarried in China; the surplus of women is absorbed by the recognition of virtual polygamy.
- (g) P. 71.—Girls are kidnapped and sold in other parts of the country. Kidnapping is a capital offence.

My remarks on the above will be brief. If (a) girls preponderate, how does kidnapping pay? Further, Rockhill (*T'oung Pao*, March, 1912) shows that in China boys outnumber girls. If (b and c) female children are slaughtered in large numbers, where are the wives and numerous concubines (d and e) to come from? If (f) the surplus of women (after giving each man a wife) is absorbed by polygamy, what possible margin can there be left for infanticide?

It is refreshing to turn from such rodomontade to "Jade, a study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion," by Berthold Laufer,—a really valuable contribution to sinological studies, even though Mr. Laufer disclaims any such pretension. This work, beautifully illustrated by 68 plates, 6 of which are coloured, and 204 text-figures, runs to 370 pages, and is indispensable to students. A good index completes the value of the book. There remain certain points, some of which, considering the permanent excellence of the work, it may be quite worth while to indicate; not in a carping spirit, but as an aid, if possible, towards the fuller interpretation of the subjects treated. For instance, the character 帶 *tai*, which occurs several times in the inscriptions on pp. 134—142, cannot there be rightly translated by "zone." 青玉帶黑色閒有白點 can hardly mean "green jade with black zone interspersed with white specks," but rather "green jade with black colour (? in patches) interspersed with white specks;" just as 帶鉤, pp. 268—272, means "with fastening." Of course 帶 means a zone; but it also means "to take with," hence, as here, "having." The authority (p. 111, note 2) for explaining 現 *kun* as "a precious stone resembling a pearl" is the 韻會 *Yün hui*, quoted in K'ang Hsi. On p. 274, "sword-guards made of jade" should read "ornamented with," as a rendering of 劍鼻玉飾也. On p. 288, the characters 洪福齊天 do not mean "May your Majesty obtain great happiness reaching heaven like the clouds," but "equal to God's (happiness)." On pp. 290, 291, Mr. Laufer explains 鶡面朝帶 as the "court girdle of Hu-mien which in all probability is a woman's name." The first character, which is read *ku*, *hua*, and *hu*, is defined as 班鳩 the spotted dove, and in my opinion refers rather to the "spotty" character of the ornamentation than to the face of a Court lady. Note 2 on p. 303 requires to be recast. The text in question reads 木魚刻木爲魚形空其中敲之有聲. This cannot mean, "The wooden fish is carved from wood. It has

the shape of a fish, *and is hollow*. *If one strikes its centre*, it emits sounds." It is a case of mis-punctuation, which is so apt to lead one astray. The translation should run, "and is hollow inside. When struck, it gives forth a musical sound." The stop is after 中 and not after 空. Again, for "The Buddhist priests call it 'Jambuti.' It is a huge sea-fish which carries it," should be substituted, "Buddhist priests say that Jambudvīpa (the world) is borne on the back of a huge sea-fish." The story goes on that when the fish itches, it shakes the world; therefore the priests imitate its form and beat it,—in order to awaken mankind.

Mr. Hopkins has pointed out to me a curious misapprehension on p. 44, which leads Mr. Laufer to translate 陽文 by "the male principle," and to claim in a note that the term referred to means a phallic emblem. But 画有陽文 can only mean that the hatchet in question "contains in rilievo" a certain character, and has nothing to do with the more familiar 陽物.

Among other of Mr. Laufer's recent publications may be mentioned "Chinese Grave-Sculptures of the Han Period," also richly illustrated, and an interesting brochure entitled "A Chinese Madonna," both of which, and indeed all Mr. Laufer's writings, will well repay the student of Chinese archaeology and art.

I have lately been looking over a small work, the 起信論, which, under the title of "The Awakening of Faith," was very badly translated from the Chinese in 1894 by Dr. Timothy Richard, assisted by Mr. Yang Wén Hui, and under altogether false pretences was published in 1907 by the Christian Literature Society, Shanghai, founded by the late Dr. Griffith John. This *śāstra* was originally composed by Āshvagôsha, the twelfth of the Indian patriarchs, and translated into Chinese by a Buddhist priest of the 6th century. As a thoroughly inaccurate rendering, this English version should find no place in any collection of representative works; on the other hand, a correct rendering would show at once that it is quite unfit

to be included in the publications of a Christian literature society. Dr. Richard calls it "one of the great books of the world;" and bases its claim to the attention of Christians on the will-o'-the-wisp theory that the Mahâyâna form of faith is not Buddhism at all, but rather, as the late Mr. Lloyd of Japan tried in vain to persuade us, a shoot from Christianity gone astray. It is not worth while to follow Dr. Richard through his arguments, founded as they are upon mistranslation of the text; *e.g.* he gives "I yield my life to the All" as the first line of the opening hymn which runs thus: **歸命盡十方**; and for the last two lines of the same: **起大乘正言、佛種不斷故**, we have the amazing translation, "Get Faith in the great School perpetuating God." Of course, if **盡十方** can be made by Dr. Richard to mean "the All," and **佛種** "God," then I can only cry out with Confucius, **是可忍也孰不可忍也** "If he can bear to do this, what may he not bear to do?"

Volume XLII of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is, without exception, the most disappointing it has ever been my fortune to open. No fewer than 232 of its spacious pages—and there is little else—are filled with a journal kept by the late Dr. Williams from April 19, 1858, to January 13, 1860. Now if this document was worth printing, it should have been printed long ago; to me it does not seem worth printing at all, especially when it is allowed to occupy the whole of an annual issue, and with all the important literary, anthropological, ethical, numismatic, and other subjects—their name is legion—on which more information is wanted, and on some of which, as would appear from p. 258, papers by qualified writers were actually in the hands of the editor. He, I notice, is the Rev. Evan Morgan, the individual who falsely implied (*N. C. Daily News*, Aug. 14, 1909) that my son, Mr. Bertram Giles, was attempting, under an assumed name, to screen me from fair criticism in regard to the new edition of my Dictionary; and

who, when such was shown conclusively not to be the case (Aug. 21, 1909) by the frank admission of the real writer, had not sufficient moral courage to send an apology, admitting his mistake. But people who write books must not be thin-skinned, and "I beare no mallice for what has been done upon the premises." My curse on Mr. Morgan, therefore, shall be the old-fashioned one, forgiveness, on condition that he does better with the next issue of the Journal. I was just about to send the above to the printer when I received a packet of literature from one of the most strenuous and able of my French colleagues, Professor Paul Pelliot. I hasten to mention specially a long and interesting dissertation, fortified with excellent notes and entitled "Autour d'une Traduction Sanscrite du *Tao Tō King*." In the course of his remarks, Professor Pelliot charges me, and very properly and justly, with failing to give exact references for quotations from Chinese authors used in the course of argument. Of course one ought, strictly speaking, to give the full text of every translated passage; this, however, would be quite impossible for me, inasmuch as for the past twenty years I have had to work entirely single-handed, with no Chinese literate to help in hunting up phrases in the *P'ei wēn yün fu*, or copy out such paragraphs as are wanted for illustration. With regard to the extract (p. 81) attributed to 班固 Pan Ku, Professor Pelliot is quite right; I took it from an encyclopaedia, but the encyclopaedia was the 圖書 *T'u shu*, and the author quoted was the eminent scholar of the T'ang dynasty, 陸德明 Lu Tē-ming, a combination which seemed satisfactory enough. It will be found in § 431 of 經籍 Canonical and Other Literature, and it begins, 班固云 "Pan Ku said . . . ." but I cannot find it either in the 經典釋文 by Lu Tē-ming, or in the 白虎通 by Pan Ku. Meanwhile, Professor Pelliot is entirely with me on the main issue, which I first took up in 1886 *contra mundum*, namely, that the *Tao Tē ching* is not the work of Lao Tzū, but a patchwork of later ages.

Everybody will be pleased to see the long-promised translation by Hirth and Rockhill of the 諸蕃志 *Chu-fan-chi* (*sic*) by 趙汝适 Chau Ju-kua (*sic*), now published entire. I, for one, should be still more pleased if it were not for the fact that this work adds a new transliteration of Chinese characters to the already existing systems, and on what seem to me to be very insufficient grounds. Wade's system is admittedly imperfect; still, it has now been widely adopted, even by the Chinese themselves (see *The Republican Advocate*, etc.), and with the fewest possible modifications can be made quite suitable for scientific disquisitions. If American students demand a system of their own, they have one already to hand in Williams' *Syllabic Dictionary*. I hold that each nation must necessarily have its own particular system, in order to satisfy approximately the requirements of each particular language; but English-speaking peoples might well strive to write under a single system, the more so as all systems must be more or less arbitrary arrangements. What advantage there can be in substituting *chau* for Wade's *chao*, or *chi* for his *chih*, or *wōn* for *wén*, or *chíu* for *chou*, I completely fail to see. Any novice would be equally at sea with all these, so that it cannot matter, *except for uniformity's sake*, which one is chosen. On p. 38, the authors actually lapse into what was evidently their first love, and twice write *ao* for *au*, with the result that two more entries are added to the *Errata*. These last are not very numerous as given on p. 286, but there is a further considerable list of such, and of other points which it may be worth noticing in the case of an important work, a second edition of which is already in contemplation. The rest of this number of *Adversaria* was in type when the book reached me. I have, however, run through its pages, with the following results, which it is hoped may be of use.

P. 3, l. 17.—"Sa-po traders" = *Sārthavāha* head merchants; see *Fo Kouē Ki*, p. 344.

P. 7, l. 24.—"All this has caused navigation and trade to be ex-

tended to these parts," seems to be a mere paraphrase of 舟舶  
繼路商使交屬, which I take to mean "an uninterrupted  
line of vessels along the route, and traders and envoys passing one  
another."

P. 30, l. 38.—"Our word *cutter* is derived from Catur (or kattira)." Murray's Dictionary says this is "inadmissible."

P. 63, l. 42.—I fail to see any ambiguity in 冬月順風月  
餘方至凌牙門經商三分之一始入其國 which means, "In winter, with the fair wind (monsoon), in a little over  
a month Ling-ya-mén is reached, and there one-third of the tra-  
ders (disembark and) enter the country." 經 goes with 入, and  
cannot be rendered by "passing" merchants. 始 has its common  
value of "finally," "and then," and need not be pressed in trans-  
lation. The translation on p. 60, l. 9, should be corrected; the *ad  
valorem* theory is of course sheer nonsense.

P. 80, l. 31.—腰輿 and 肩輿 are here regarded as identical;  
but surely the distinction is that the latter were carried on the  
shoulder, the former by hand.

P. 88, l. 19.—"There is in this country (a river called the Tan-  
shui kiang 淡水江)." This is explained on p. 90, l. 21,  
as "a river of brackish water," which seems to me the exact oppo-  
site of what is meant. 淡 means "without flavour," that is, a  
fresh-water river. However this may be, I cannot accept the trans-  
lation of the next few lines, where sparks seen on the face of cliffs  
are said "by their vital powers to fructify and produce small stones." The  
text is 秀氣鍾結產爲小石, and means, "their beau-  
tiful substances come together and harden into small stones." The  
translation altogether misses the point of the coalescence of the  
sparks into hard stones.

P. 91, l. 16.—蜜糖酒 is obviously mead, or metheglin.

P. 99, l. 34.—部落 means "a tribe," as given in my Dictionary,  
2nd edition, s. v.

P. 109, l. 4.—“In the country of Fu-lin there is the country of Chan (Sham), in the west screened off by (a range of) mountains several thousand *li* (in length).” The text is **拂菻國有苦國西隔山數千里**. Here punctuation seems to have played the translators false, for it is impossible to put a stop, as they have done, after the second 國. The sentence reads intelligibly, “The country of Fu-lin has a barrier of mountains, several thousand *li* in length, to the west of the Chan country.” This brings the translation into line with that on p. 104, l. 9.

P. 111, l. 23.—Of “Flying ladders 飛梯, saps 地道,” one of the authors says, p. 113, l. 51, “I can find no explanation.” The terms mean “scaling-ladders,” and “tunnels,” respectively, and are both explained in the *P'ei wén yün fù*, as used in siege operations, the former in four words: **以上其城**.

P. 111, l. 2.—For “dark gold 烏金,” read “bronze.”

P. 112, ll. 40, 50.—“The name 永世 means Time everlasting, eternity, and could never have been borne by a Brahman or Buddhist.” If this is based on the meaning of the first character, the authors are wrong, as 永 is used in the names of Buddhist priests, examples of which I have found.

P. 116, l. 6.—**工匠技術咸精其能** cannot possibly mean “the artisans have the true artistic spirit,” which is nothing more than a wild guess. The meaning is “the workmen (who make the brocades, etc.) are very skilled and all exert their ability to the utmost.”

P. 129, l. 43.—The conjecture that 福祿 is the zebra has long since passed into certainty. It is figured in the **異域國志**, and the name *fu lu* is simply the classical Arabic word *fara* = zebra. See Dict. s. v.

P. 137, l. 22.—**碾花** is, obviously, “engraved in a pattern, or design,” and is adequately rendered on p. 138, l. 36. Line 38, “they do not know of the new and full moon,” seems to mean “as epochs regularly recurring,” and therefore available for the

measurement of time, implying that the sun was their only guide. Our authors' gloss, "as holidays," is not convincing.

P. 146, l. 7.—The use of a wrong character, 搖 for 搏, has led to a mistranslation here. "Well connected" has no intelligible meaning, whereas 搏結 means "very solid," and fits in well with the narrative.

P. 147, l. 39.—"A corpse on a bed of rolling gold," is also unintelligible. The text, 聖跡渾金床, means "the sacred relic (here a corpse) is on a bed made entirely of gold."

P. 149, l. 6.—Apropos of the great 鵬 *p'êng* birds, 飛蔽日移晷 does not mean "so mask the sun in their flight that the shade on the sun-dial is shifted," which is itself meaningless; but "that the sun-dial is affected thereby," which it would not be, except momentarily, by the short transit of an ordinary bird. The *p'êng* is mentioned in chapter 1 of Chuang Tzü, 4th cent. B. C., before "the Indian legend of the *garuda*" (l. 28) could have been known to the Chinese.

P. 155, l. 15.—By 金練 "a golden silk band," is probably meant "a golden chain," 鏹.

P. 155, l. 32.—That women wear sarongs of "melted gold coloured silk" is given as a rendering of 銷金色帛. The first character is probably a mistake for 繡, when the translation would read, "of coloured silks embroidered with gold." See p. 158, l. 41.

P. 158, l. 29.—軟 for the 院 of the text must be correct. The former is used in similar expressions; *e.g.* 軟梯 a rope ladder; the latter is meaningless, unless the term is foreign, as suggested, but without much plausibility.

P. 161, l. 21.—"They nest in tree-tops." See p. 355.

P. 183, l. 17.—"Seizing 捉拗" should be "seizing and overpowering." See p. 189, l. 14.

P. 185, l. 47.—Omit 床 may well be an error for 塘, the two characters are somewhat alike."

P. 188, l. 41.—“They are of the family of the old men's village of the Astor (*sic*) pool.” This should be, “They are the same kind of people as those in the old men's village of Astor (*sic*)? Pool.” The reference is to a place in Honan, where the inhabitants drank water into which chrysanthemum (or china-aster) flowers had fallen, and lived in consequence to a great age. See the 風俗通, quoted in the *P'ei wén yün fu*.

P. 190, l. 9.—“Four flounces [圍]” should be “four-fold,” the idea evidently being four thicknesses all the way down from waist to foot. This character reminds me of what seems to be a curious mistake in Prof. Pelliot's elaborate article on Chao Ju-kua (*T'oung-Pao*, p. 459). For 大珠至圍二寸以下 Prof. Pelliot has. “Les grandes perles ont jusqu'à sept pouces;” and in a foot-note he explains, “J'ai pris [圍] *wei* en son sens technique de mesure de cinq pouces; je ne connais pourtant pas d'autre exemple, pour le moment, où sept pouces soient exprimés comme ici par un *wei* et deux pouces.” I contest the “comme ici.” It is true that K'ang Hsi says 五寸曰圍, but he also says 一抱曰圍, which I take to mean “one embrace is called *wei*;” and the obvious translation of the sentence above is, “The largest pearls reach a circumference of two inches,”—a considerable size for pearls.

P. 218, l. 48.—“Blush of the Court” (transliterated *ch'au hia*) is a singular mistranslation of 朝霞, the first character of which is of course read *chao*, and means “morning.”

P. 233.—“Rhinoceros horns.” In the 2nd edition of my Dictionary, at the suggestion of my son, Mr. Lionel Giles, I have discarded “rhinoceros” as a rendering of 犀 *hsı* and 香 *ssı*, and have substituted “bovine animal.” To begin with, the rhinoceros is known to the Chinese as 鼻角 “nose horn,” and is approximately figured in the *T'u shu*. On p. 118, l. 2, of the present work, we read, “To capture a rhinoceros, a man with a bow and arrow climbs a big tree, where he watches for the animal until he can shoot and

kill it;" and again, on p. 233, l. 8, we are told that "hunters shoot him with a stiff 硬 arrow from a good distance." In this connexion, however, the *T'u shu* expressly says that 矢不能透 "arrows cannot pierce" the hide of the rhinoceros. Further on, line 5 of p. 233, we read that "this animal runs so quickly that you may imagine it is flying." Marco Polo says, "They do no mischief with the horn;" Chao Ju-kua says (l. 7) "he rips up a man with his horn." The "tongue like the burr of a chestnut" would apply equally well, perhaps better, to a buffalo. 遲 "slow" is said to be formed from "rhinoceros" and "progression," in reference to this animal's gait; though of course this combination may be entirely fortuitous. Then again, the *hsie* and the *ssu* are both figured in the *T'u shu* as slightly differing bovine animals, with a single horn on the head. The *Erh Ya* says the latter is like an ox, and the former like a pig, while the *Shan hai ching* speaks of both as occurring in many parts of China. There is thus hopeless confusion, of which perhaps the explanation is that a term which originally meant a bovine animal was later on wrongly applied to the rhinoceros. The following is the further list of literals and wrong characters which should be corrected in a second edition.

P. 7, line 34, read *P'o*; p. 20, l. 38, read 澈浦; p. 32, l. 42, read W. F.; p. 34, l. 19, read rôle; p. 35, l. 38, read *t'i*; p. 47, l. 7, read 色, and l. 14, read 軌; p. 51, l. 31, read *k'ien*; p. 54, l. 1, read 裏 for 裹, and line 29, read *chai* for *ch'ai*, and *po* for the second *pu*; p. 55, l. 33, read *k'ie*, and l. 34, read 神 for 神; p. 59, l. 47, read 級 for 級; p. 61, l. 15, read *tsing*; p. 62, l. 14, read *p'ong*, and l. 38, read 19 for 3; p. 70, l. 13, read 祖 for 姐, and l. 36, read 東 for 束; p. 71, l. 40, correct order of characters; p. 78, l. 17, read *ch'uan* for *ch'üan*, and l. 38, read *Shun-t'a*; p. 83, l. 31, read 園 for 圃 (or if the character is right, change the transliteration), and l. 36, read 崎 *ki* for 峙 (or if the character is right, change the transliteration);

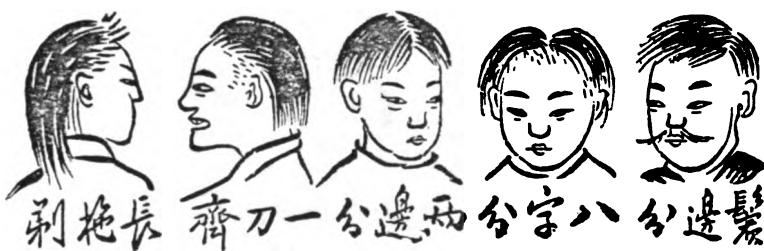
p. 85, l. 21, 猪 is apparently a wrong character, not having the sound *Tu*, and l. 34, read 卽 for 郎; p. 88, l. 30, read *p'a*; p. 89, l. 28, read *Chō* for *Chi*; p. 90, l. 43, read 狼 for 猥; p. 94, ll. 23, 24, read *p'a*, l. 25, read *t'an*, l. 27, read *p'o*, l. 28, read *t'i*; p. 95, l. 2, read *p'a-li-p'a*, l. 5, read *Po* for *Fa*, l. 14, read *p'a*, l. 15, read *T'ien*, l. 18, read "offence;" p. 101, l. 5, read *P'i*, l. 38, read *Yin-tu* for *Shōn-tu* (this mistake was fully discussed in *Adversaria Sinica*, p. 237); p. 113, l. 11, read 3) for 2); p. 124, l. 9, read *Kui* for *K'ui*; p. 135, l. 31, read *p'o* for *po*; p. 142, l. 28, read *p'an* for *pan*; p. 156, l. 15, of *su* and 遠 one must be wrong (I see no allusion to *su nau* in Pt. II); p. 159, l. 1, read *high* for *hidg*; p. 164, l. 8, read *K'o*; p. 189, l. 28 read *Ch'u* for *Chu*. [No time to go through Pt. II.]

## CARICATURE IN CHINA

Chinese art does not recognize the caricaturist; neither does there seem to be any concise classical term to express exactly what we mean by caricature. Colloquial takes refuge in such paraphrases as **畫事譏人** "drawing matters to ridicule people," or **畫丑兒形容** "drawing low-comedy likenesses," both of which are awkward, if not inadequate.

No caricatures have been preserved, so far as I know, of any Gladstones, or Asquiths, or Lloyd Georges, or Churchills, who may have flourished, as such leaders certainly did flourish, in the China of any date between now and forty centuries ago. It is true that

頭之行時日今

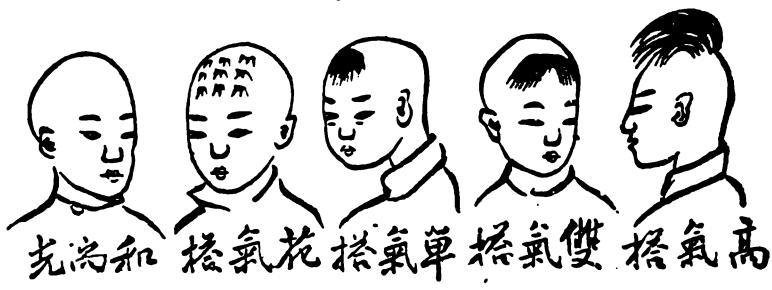


**孔道輔** K'ung Tao-fu, a descendant of Confucius, who was sent in 1031 as envoy to the Kitan Tartars and was received at a banquet with great honour, was so scandalized at a theatrical entertainment which followed, in which his sacred ancestor appeared as the low-comedy man, that he got up and withdrew, the Kitans being subsequently forced to apologize; but we do not even possess an

authentic portrait of the Sage in ordinary life, still less one in which he is held up as a butt for jeers and gibes.

Similarly, it would have been difficult, until recent days, to find any such Chinese cartoon as that in which, after a bad Conservative defeat, Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Balfour, with dejected coun-

### 頭之行時日今



10 9 8 7 6

tenances, are saying to a waiter (Mr. Asquith), "Two small hemlocks, please." When I first went to China in 1867, journalism was unknown, and it was some time before the 申報 *Shun Pao* ("Shanghai News," from 申江, a name of the district) appeared;

### 頭之行時日今



15 14 13 12 11

whereas now the vernacular press looms large among the various items of foreign civilization which have been readily, sometimes too readily, adopted.

My own acquaintance with Chinese caricature dates only from the establishment of the Republic, when the Chinese people decided to

discard the ridiculous Manchu pigtail. This very abrupt change of the national coiffure, with no uniform style to take its place, at once called into existence the professional caricaturist of journalism, whose sense of humour was tickled by the diversity of type which was thus suddenly developed around him. In the preceding reproductions we have

Heads in the fashions of to-day.

1. Hair parted at the side.
2. Parted like the figure of 8 (八).
3. Parted in the middle.
4. Cut even.
5. Worn long.
6. High pitched.
7. Double pitched.
8. Single pitched.
9. Flowery pitched.
10. Buddhist priest.
11. Sobriety-goblet style. [A winecup made to turn over, if filled too full.]
12. Rolled across.
13. Taoist priest.
14. Bramble-bush.
15. Half coiled.

Illustration No. 4 shows a goose and a hawk, each carrying a bag and devoting attention to a document exhibited between them. To understand this cartoon it is necessary to know that the word for "goose" in Chinese is sounded like the word used to express "Russia," while the word for "hawk" is similarly sounded like the word used for "England." Thus we have Russia and England engaged over a document on which is written "Treaty," the Chinese characters on the bags meaning "Mongolia" and "Tibet," respectively, with which the goose and the hawk are about to walk off.

"Even if you are made of diamond," says the inscription on illus-



tration No. 5, "you will be crushed to atoms in this," this being an



electric machine which represents "the power of the Chinese people,"

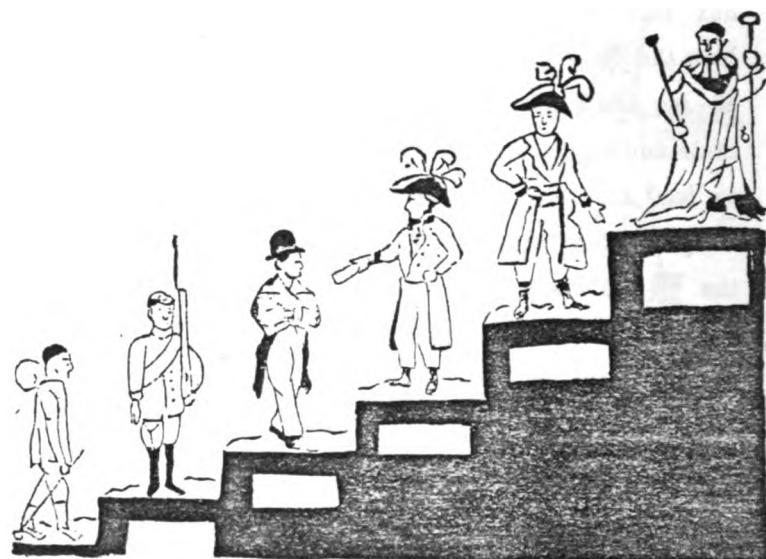
and is for the moment busily employed in disposing of a goose (Russia). No. 6 refers to a famous episode in the history of China, 7th cent. B.C., when the country was divided up into feudal States, ruled by vassal nobles who were always quarrelling and fighting among themselves, and trying to annex each other's territories. Now the 秦 Ch'in State wanted to attack the 郭 Kuo State, and begged to be allowed to lead an army, in order to carry out their plan, through the 豫 Yü State. Upon this, the Prime Minister of the Yü State advised his master to refuse permission; arguing that the Kuo State was an outlying defence of his own State, and that "if the lips perish the teeth feel cold," — a maxim which has made a deep impression upon the minds of Chinese statesmen of all ages. In the accompanying illustration, the upper lip is labelled "Mongolia" and "Tibet," while the teeth are similarly labelled with the names of those Chinese provinces which would be in a precarious condition were the natural safeguards removed.

In No. 7, we have, according to the legend above the figures, "the progress of Napoleon," showing how "from small beginnings he rose, step by step, to the Imperial throne." It is, naturally, a matter of no



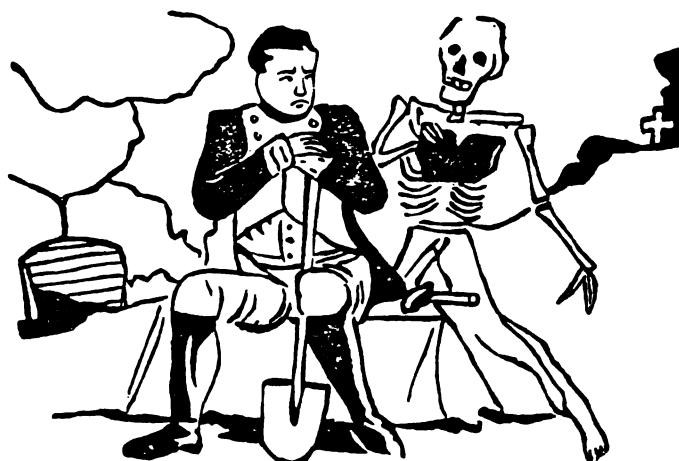
more than academic interest to the Chinese people how Napoleon

帝至陞步賈由晉拿破(四史圖晉拿破



mounted, or to what elevation; but although there is no clue beyond

也野心家之高世死。促其速奪其權，免其險。人最多。一役拿破軍圖晉拿破



the text above translated, every Chinese reader knows that the allusion is to the rise of 袁世凱 Yüan Shih-k'ai.

No. 8 is in the same vein. The inscription above the picture reads as follows:—"A German paper describes Napoleon as one who rushed headlong through his generation. He caused the deaths of countless men, whose injured ghosts stole from him his happiness and caused him to die young. This is a gibe suitable for the wild man of to-day."

No. 9 shows a monkey, on whose head is written "Autocratic Rule," peering over a mask which is labelled "Republic," the three characters to the left meaning "false face apparatus." To understand this picture it is necessary to know that the surname 袁 Yüan, which has the harmless meaning of "the appearance of a long robe," is used as the phonetic of another word, similarly sounded *yüan*, which means "a gibbon," or long-armed ape, written 猿, with the radical "dog" on the left, to indicate that the meaning of the word must be sought in the animal kingdom. The old belief that monkeys are not found in China, as stated so recently (1903) by Franz Boll, has once more been disposed of by Mr. Berthold Laufer, the distinguished archaeologist of the Field Museum, Chicago, in his valuable "Notes on Turquois in the East," p. 64 (note), where he shows that monkeys have long been known in Yünnan, Sstich'uau, central, and southern China. When the poet Li Po of the 8th cent. bade adieu to his friend at 江夏 Chiang-hsia in Hupeh, he wrote a parting poem, well known to "every Chinese schoolboy," in which the following lines occur:—

於此泣無窮

平生不下淚

江猿嘯晚風

谷鳥吟晴日

The birds of the valley sing loud in the sun  
 Where the gibbons their vigils will shortly be keeping;  
 I thought that with tears I had long ago done,  
 But now I shall never cease weeping.

假面具



Other early poets, too, have referred to the gibbon and its semi-human cry at night, "screaming on the evening breeze;" all of which has nothing to do with our caricature, which is a monkey, the recognized perpetrator of mischief, in China as elsewhere, the allusion of course being to Yüan Shih-k'ai.

In No. 10 we have him again, holding the cherished five-stripe flag, from which a portion has been torn away. What that tear refers to may be known from its position; a red stripe at the top for the victorious Chinese, then a yellow stripe for the Manchus, a blue one for the Mongols, white for Mussulmans and black for Tibetans, make up the five-nation confederacy of modern China.



Mongolia, or at any rate a part of it, will be lost to China under the administration of Yüan. "Alas," says the legend at the top, "for our Republic!"

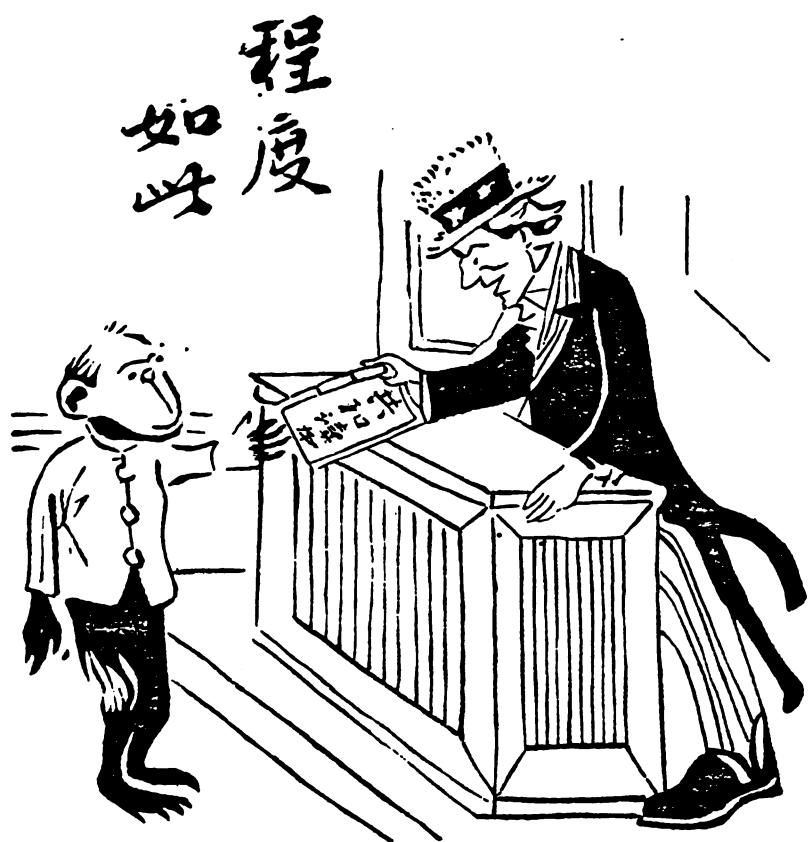
In No. 11 we have Yüan sitting on a Chinese *cash*, inscribed with two characters meaning "borrow amount," that is, a loan, which

is crushing tears out of "the people," as pictured and written below. This illustrates the great and wide-spread antagonism which prevailed



in China, first of all to the Sextuple, and afterwards to the Quintuple Loan, or rather to the interest thereon, which the Chinese people would have to find.

No. 12, with which we take leave of Yüan Shih-k'ai, though the Chinese have not done with him yet, shows us Uncle Sam presenting "the Book of the Republic" to the usual Monkey, presumably for his acceptance in the sense of imitation. "A standard like this!" says the legend above, the whole forming a cartoon the sense and piquancy of which will be understood if it is borne in mind that Chinese republicanism was imported direct from the United States.



The inscription on No. 13 reads, "They are all for this," referring to the huge disc which is an object of such close attention from



the motley crowd around. Sojourners in the Far East will have no difficulty in promptly recognizing *this* as the Mexican dollar.

No. 14 is a patriotic cartoon. A young Chinese student is smoking the eternal cigarette, from which the ash is dropping in the form of dollars. A kneeling foreigner catches the money in an open bag. The large characters on the right mean, "Tobacco-smoker's Mirror,"—in which he may see and realize what he is doing. The column of seven small characters means, "One inch of silver becomes one inch of ash." The remaining characters form the artist's signature.



## INFANTICIDE IN CHINA

I am heartily sick of this subject. After studying the question for some years while stationed at Peking, Tientsin (twice), Takow (in Formosa), Ningpo, and Hankow, I published, in 1876, *Chinese Sketches*, on p. 157 of which will be found a chapter about female children, intended to check the monstrous assertion that the Chinese slaughter their girls wholesale.

After 1876, I was stationed at Swatow, Canton, Amoy, Pagoda Island (Foochow), Shaughai, Tamsui, and (again) Ningpo; and during all this time, that is, from 1876 to 1892, I kept my eyes open for new light on female infanticide. The reason why I give the above enumeration of places will be seen later on.

In 1885, when President of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, at Shanghai, I called a symposium on "The Prevalence of Infanticide in China." Seventeen papers in all were read at the meeting, of which nine favoured the view that female infanticide was prevalent, and eight expressed the opposite opinion. Without exception, these papers were from Consuls, missionaries, and others, who were permanent residents in China.

The Rev. Dr. Martin said, "There is no hope of extirpating this great evil except by the spread of (Protestant) Christianity."

Several speakers mentioned the difficulty, felt in some parts of China, of procuring a supply of wives, and attributed this to female infanticide; forgetting that such a dearth would make girl children more a marketable commodity than ever. The Ven. Archdeacon Moule said that after investigating the subject of infanticide for

some years he "was then led to the conclusion that (in Chekiang) the crime is not widespread or normal."

An anonymous contributor, "23 years a resident in south China," said, "I do not think even female infanticide can safely be said to be more prevalent among the Hakkas and Puntis of south China, than abortion can be said to be prevalent among Europeans and Americans."

Dr. Dudgeon, for many years a medical missionary at Peking, and Dr. Lockhart, of the same profession at Canton, were both quoted as saying that "infanticide was almost as rare in China as in England," and Sir Walter Medhurst as "denying that female infanticide was prevalent, in the sense of 'generally existing' throughout China." Mr. W. M. Cooper, Consul at Ningpo, said, "This is also my opinion."

The Rev. Dr. Edkins said, "Some persons have said that infanticide prevails in Peking. The fact is that such a thing is unknown."

Sir Chaloner Alabaster said, "Infanticide exists in China, as in other countries; but so far as my experience goes it does not prevail to anything like the extent supposed, on the authority of careless observers."

P. J. Hughes, H. B. M. Consul, Shanghai, said, "On the whole, I do not believe in anything like the general prevalence of infanticide in China."

The Rev. J. Macintyre said, "Is infanticide as common as some would have it? I am prepared to find the evil has been exaggerated. I protest against the notion that it is universal, or in any true sense general in China."

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Moule said, "Since I have lived in China I have seen good reason to conclude that the prevalence of the crime has been largely exaggerated."

The "conclusions and experiences" of Miss Field, missionary, as set forth in her "Pagoda Shadows," were quoted as "unanswerable."

She had stated that "one hundred and sixty Chinese women had destroyed one hundred and fifty-eight daughters,"—why drag in at least two women who must have been innocent?—but they had brought up "six hundred and thirty-eight sons." This gives an average of nearly five to a family, whereas the true average in China is three, five persons being reckoned officially to every family. Finally, Mr. Kingsmill remarked that "if female infanticide was practised in Shanghai, it was only to an infinitesimal degree."

Further powerful testimony against the prevalence of infanticide may be found in the writings of Sir John Davis and the Rev. W. Milne. In 1902, I dealt rather fully with this charge of infanticide in one of a course of lectures delivered at Columbia University, New York, as follows:—

"A very frightful crime is alleged against the Chinese people as a common practice in everyday life, which, if not actually approved, meets everywhere with toleration.

"I allude to the charge of infanticide, confined of course to girls, for it has not often been suggested that Chinese parents do away with such a valuable asset as a boy.

"Miss Gordon Cumming, the traveller, in her *Wanderings in China*, has the following impassioned paragraph in reference to her visit to Ningpo:—

"The delicate fragrance (of the roses and honeysuckle), alas! cannot overpower the appalling odours which here and there assail us, poisoning the freshness of the evening breezes.

"These are wafted from the Baby Towers, two of which we had to pass. These are square towers, with small windows, about twelve feet from the ground, somewhat resembling pigeon-towers; these strange dovecots are built to receive the bodies of such babies as die too young to have fully developed souls, and therefore there is no necessity to waste coffins on them, or even to take the trouble of burying them in the bosom of mother earth. So the insignificant

little corpse is handed over to a coolie, who for the sum of forty cash, equal to about five cents, carries it away, ostensibly to throw it into one of these towers; but if he should not choose to go so far, he gets rid of it somehow,—no questions are asked, and there are plenty of prowling dogs ever on the watch seeking what they may devour. To-day several poor uncoffined mites were lying outside the towers shrouded only in a morsel of old matting—apparently they had been brought by some one who had failed to throw them in at the window ('about twelve feet from the ground'), in which, by the way, one had stuck fast!

"Some of these poor little creatures are brought here alive and left to die, and some of these have been rescued and carried to foundling hospitals. The neighbourhood was so pestiferous that we could only pause a moment to look at 'an institution which, although so horrible, is so characteristic of this race, who pay such unbounded reverence to the powerful dead who could harm them. Most of the bodies deposited here are those of girl babies who have been intentionally put to death, but older children are often thrown in.'

"With regard to this, I will only say that I lived altogether for over four years within a mile or so of these Towers, which I frequently passed during the evening walk; and so far from ever seeing 'several poor uncoffined mites lying outside the towers, shrouded only in a morsel of old matting,' which Miss Gordon Cumming has described, I never even saw one single instance of a tower being put to the purpose for which it was built, viz: as a burying-place for the dead infants of people too poor to spend money upon a grave. As for living children being thrown in, I think I shall be able to dispose of that statement a little later on. Miss Gordon Cumming did not add that these towers are cleared out at regular intervals by a Chinese charitable society which exists for that purpose, the bodies burnt, and the ashes reverently buried.

"Mrs Bird-Bishop, the traveller, is reported to have stated at a

public lecture in 1897, that 'one of the most distressing features of Chinese life was the contempt for women. Of eleven Bible-women whom she had seen at a meeting in China, there was not one who had not put an end to at least five girl-babies.'

"A Jesuit missionary has published a quarto volume, running to more than 270 pages, and containing many illustrations of infanticide, and the judgments of Heaven which always come upon those who commit this crime.

"Finally, if you ask any Chinaman, he will infallibly tell you that infanticide exists to an enormous extent everywhere in China; and as though in corroboration of his words, alongside many a pool in South China may be found a stone tablet bearing an inscription to the effect that "Female children may not be drowned here." This would appear to end the discussion; but it does not.

"To begin with, the Chinese are very prone to exaggerate, especially to foreigners, even their vices. They seem to think that some credit may be extracted from anything, provided it is on a sufficiently imposing scale, and I do not at all doubt the fact that eleven Bible-women told Mrs. Bird-Bishop that they had each destroyed five girl-babies. It is just what I should have expected. I remember, when I first went to Amoy, it had been stated in print by a reckless foreigner that crucifixion of a most horrible kind was one of the common punishments of the place. On enquiring from the Chinese writer attached to the Consulate, the man assured me that the story was quite true and that I could easily see for myself. I told him that I was very anxious to do so, and promised him a hundred dollars for the first case he might bring to my notice. Three years later I left Amoy, with the hundred dollars still unclaimed.

"Further, those Chinese who have any money to spare are much given to good works, chiefly, I feel bound to add, in view of the recompense their descendants will receive in this world and they themselves in the next; also, because a rich man who does nothing

in the way of charity comes to be regarded with disapprobation by his poorer neighbours. Such persons print and circulate gratis all kinds of religious tracts, against gambling, wine-drinking, opium-smoking, infanticide, and so forth; and these are the persons who set up the stone tablets above-mentioned, regardless whether infanticide happens to be practised or not.

"Of course infanticide is known in China, just as it is known, too well known, in England and elsewhere. What I hope to be able to show is that infanticide is not more prevalent in China than in the Christian communities of the West.

"Let me begin by urging, what no one who has lived in China will deny, that Chinese parents seem to be excessively fond of all their children, male and female. A son is often spoken of playfully as a little dog,—a puppy, in fact; a girl is often spoken of as "a thousand ounces of gold," a jewel, and so forth. Sons are no doubt preferred; but is that feeling peculiar to the Chinese?

"A great deal too much has been made of a passage in the Odes, which says that baby-sons should have sceptres to play with, while baby-daughters should have tiles.

"The allotment of these toys is not quite so disparaging as it seems. The sceptre is indeed the symbol of rule; but the tile too has an honourable signification, a tile being used in ancient China as a weight for the spindle,—and consequently as a symbol of woman's work in the household.

"Then again, even a girl has a market value. Some will buy and rear them to be servants; others to be wives for their sons; while native foundling hospitals, endowed by charitable Chinese, will actually pay a small fee for every girl handed over to them.

"It is also curious to note how recent careful observers have several times stated that they can find no trace of infanticide in their own immediate districts, though they hear that it is extensively practised in some other, generally distant, parts of the country.

"After all, it is really a question which can be decided inferentially by statistics.

"Every Chinese youth, when he reaches the age of eighteen, has a sacred duty to perform: he must marry. Broadly speaking, every adult Chinaman in the Empire has a wife; well-to-do merchants, mandarins, and others have subordinate wives, two, three, and even four. The Emperor has seventy-two. This being the case, and granting also a widespread destruction of female children, it must follow that girls are born in an overwhelmingly large proportion to boys, utterly unheard-of in any other part of the world."

In 1911, I wrote for the Home University Library a volume entitled "The Civilization of China," wherein I recapitulated in a condensed form the arguments given in the lecture, as above quoted. I have also made passing allusions to the subject in the present work (e.g. pp. 366, 385).

On the 12th Oct. last, I received a letter from the Hon. Sec. to the Catholic Truth Society, covering a copy of "The Missions of China," by A. Hilliard Atteridge, from which I extract the Appendix, pp. 23, 24:—

"Since the foregoing account of the Catholic Missions of China appeared in the *Month* (June 1913), my attention has been called to a passage in chapter v. of Professor H. A. Giles's little work on the *Civilization of China*, published in the Home University Library. In this passage the Professor treats the allegation that female infanticide is practised in China as "an atrocious libel," and argues that the prevalent belief to the contrary is based on misstatements and misconceptions as to the actual facts. The point is important, because orphanages for the rescue of abandoned children are part of our mission organization in many of the Chinese provinces, and the Confraternity of the Holy Childhood exists in Europe for the express purpose of finding money for the support of this rescue work. If Professor Giles's view is correct, we would have to conclude that

for more than sixty years the devoted men and women who carry on the work of our missions have been deliberately lying as to the condition of things in China, and fraudulently collecting alms on the basis of fictitious statement.

"Indeed, Sir Hiram Maxim in *Li Hung Chang's Scrap-book* (1913) in so many words charges the missionaries with spreading and persisting in a falsehood, and tells of a French missionary cynically replying to a remonstrance on the subject, 'That *petite histoire* brings us over a million francs a year; it is the best asset we have.'

"It would be easy to quote abundant evidence as to the prevalence of infanticide and child abandonment from the reports of missionaries (Protestant as well as Catholic) and from the writings of travellers in China. I confine myself to this last kind of evidence. The late Sir Robert Douglas (one of the highest authorities on everything that relates to China) tells us that "a law exists in the statute-book making infanticide a crime, but, as a matter of fact, it is never acted upon, and in some parts of the country, more especially in the provinces of King-si (*sic*) and Fuh-kien, this most unnatural offence prevails among the poorer classes to an alarming extent. Not only do the people acknowledge the existence of the practice, but they even go the length of defending it.... Periodically the mandarins inveigh against the inhumanity of the offence, and appeal to the better instincts of the people to put a stop to it; but a stone which stands near a pool outside the city of Foo-chow, bearing the inscription, 'Girls may not be drowned here,' testifies with terrible emphasis to the futility of their praiseworthy endeavours" (*China, Manners and Customs*, pp. 91-92).

"Sir Henry Norman (*Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, pp. 289-291) gives detailed facts as to the practice, including statements published in the English press in China during his travels there. Professor Legge (*Religions of China*, p. 111) says that

though the practice does not exist to the extent sometimes represented, "it meets you in most parts of the empire."

"These are only a few out of many witnesses. Their definite statements, corroborating those of the missionaries, are a sufficient reply to Professor Giles's elaborate argument that the thing is incredible."

I venture to make a few notes on this appendix.

1.—No statement is given of any of my arguments, though that one which is based upon the numerical proportions of the sexes seems to me too important to be lightly ignored.

2 (par. 3).—For "abundant evidence" I would suggest "numerous stories."

3.—As to Sir Robert Douglas, I have to remark that, proceeding to China in the dark ages (1858), he spent in all a very few years there, and had extremely limited opportunities of moving about the country and mixing with the people. He certainly was never stationed in either Kiangsi or Fuhkien. He was scarcely an authority on the Chinese language, as may be proved by his catalogue of the Chinese books in the British Museum, which is a monument of immature scholarship, and should be revised without delay.

4.—Sir Henry Norman was a globe-trotter.

5.—Professor Legge, whose name can never be mentioned by me without the deepest respect, puts quite a different aspect on the matter. He admits that "the practice does not exist to the extent sometimes represented;" and when he adds that "it meets you in most parts of the empire," he was speaking from hearsay, inasmuch as he had not visited anything like "most parts of the empire."

6.—The above pages, 23—24, are considered by Mr. Atteridge to be a "sufficient reply" to my arguments. I cannot honestly say that I think they are. I have no axe to grind, except that of truth. I am glad to believe that the Chinese people, whom I have held in high esteem, now for over forty-seven years, are not the monsters

that some would make them out to be; but even now I have still an open mind, and am ready to take the side which has the greater weight of evidence, and change my view accordingly. I fear however that the truth will hardly be borne in upon me from the printed works of the Jesuit Fathers, as I am now about to explain.



The volume I have mentioned above as a Jesuit publication was compiled by le P. Gabriel Palatre, S. J., and was issued at Shanghai in 1878, under the title of "L'Infanticide et L'Œuvre de la Sainte-Enfance en Chine." It is a large quarto of pp. XIII, 208, with pp. 74 of Chinese text, the whole being profusely illustrated. From the Avertissement, I will give the two following extracts:—

- 1.—"Les Annales de la Sainte-Enfance enregistrent chaque année des milliers et des milliers d'enfants sauvés."
- 2.—"Il suffit de jeter un regard sur les gravures données dans le

corps de cet ouvrage pour voir quelle est la manière habituelle dont les parents se défont de leurs enfants, sans que les étrangers puissent en avoir le moindre soupçon."

In regard to the first quotation, I was told in 1868, by the old Consular "writer" at Tientsin, who was himself a Catholic, that girls were purchased for the foundling hospital run by the sisters; a fact, he said, which caused the people at large to be very suspicious as to what went on behind the high surrounding walls of the convent. Two years later came the cruel Tientsin Massacre, when Catholic establishments were burnt to the ground.



As to the pictures which exhibit "the usual method by which parents get rid of their children, without foreigners being able to have the slightest suspicion of it," they must be seen to be believed. Here are two specimens. In the first case, we are told that the wicked man and his wife were punished by having no sons; in the second case, the woman who assisted the inhuman mother never had any

children of her own. Several much more horrible pictures are given, such as that (p. 58) of a mother who, after drowning two girls, gave birth to a serpent with a human head, which frightened her only boy to death. If those who commit the crime of infanticide are punished for their misdeeds, those on the other hand who try to save the children's lives are invariably duly rewarded. The third illus-



tration refers to a student who was always warning his friends against female infanticide. One night, when staying at a Buddhist temple, he was visited in a dream by the God of Literature, who expressed great satisfaction with his philanthropic work, but complained that he was not well-favoured as to his features. "Some one said, 'We must give him a fine beard, which will make him better-looking.' And then a spirit passed a hand over his face." Next morning, when the old priest of the temple came in, he found last night's smooth-faced student in possession of a full beard, which the student himself verified with the assistance of a looking-glass.

The fourth illustration shows a virtuous lady who is protesting against the drowning in a bucket of some unfortunate child, and is thereby influencing in her own favour the gods,—what gods, we are not told, or even whether the Catholic Church recognizes the



existence of such beings as we see in the picture. It will now be interesting to hear what sufficient reply the Catholic Truth Society has to make to the above indictment.

#### NOTES ON BOOKS, etc.

Since the publication of the last fascicule of this spasmodic notebook, the output of books on China, and all that the term connotes, has been on an ever increasing scale. Professor Chavannes has issued volume I (*première partie*) of his very valuable *Mission archéologique*, for which no bush is needed. Messrs Otto Kümmel and William Cohn produce, with commendable regularity, their *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, packed with beautiful illustrations and articles by well-known scholars. The same may be said of the *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, under the directorship of Prof. Dr. Eduard Sachau and the editorship of Profs. Dr. R. Lange and Dr. A. Forke. Both the above are periodicals of which Germany may well be proud. There is nothing of the kind in England. Our Royal Asiatic Society does not encourage Chinese; and its Journal, but for an occasional snippet of reference, would lead one to believe that the history and language of one-fifth of the human race, with thirty centuries of varied literary activity, cannot for a moment compete with the customs and dialect of some outlying Indian hill-tribe. Some consolation is to be got from the Shanghai branch of the Society, which, since I had occasion to protest against the volume for 1911 being wholly taken up with an out-of-date diary written by the late Dr. Williams, has issued two excellent numbers, containing many interesting papers and notes. Mr. Laufer, the indefatigable, has also been busily at work, producing numerous archaeological pamphlets, in all of which the same sure touch is visible. Of late, there has been a run on Chinese poetry. Mrs. A. Bernhardi has given us some scholarly translations in the *Mitteilungen des*

*Seminars*, and Mr. C. Budd has done likewise in a small volume, recently printed. These two authors have evidently gone to work in the only reasonable and legitimate way: they have taken their renderings direct from the Chinese text. Not so Mr. Clifford Bax, who has published "Twenty Chinese Poems," with four illustrations in colour, under the following circumstances. The author, while in Japan, a few years back, met with a learned Japanese Buddhist, who was also a poet, and "spoke not only German, English, Russian, and French, but half a dozen dialects of Chinese." This Mezzofanti of the east translated "some twenty-five" Chinese poems for Mr. Bax, who suggested that he should "shape them into English verse, and issue them in a book." To this, the translator "responded with *naïveté* and animation, My countrymen think much of the Chinese, but English people do not know anything about them. If you put these poems into your own speech, perhaps they will understand why it is that we respect so highly the Chinese people." In a note on p. 52, Mr. Bax tells us that these poems "were written about three hundred years ago, by poets who lived in the strange old city of Canton. A large majority of the Chinese poets is reported to have come from the same district." At the moment, I cannot recall the name of one single poet of eminence hailing from Canton and its neighbourhood, except Camoens! The following is a specimen verse of Chinese poetry, as interpreted by a Japanese in English, and then rhymed by an Englishman:

The wind is asleep and the whole of the sea  
lies dead in the calm of night;  
Not a voice can be heard,—not a sound—  
for the land, as the sea lies dead.  
Between the two great eyes of the boat,  
at the prow, there is one red light;  
I muse by the sail and the stars  
are above my head.

Red lights on junks would be a novelty to some; I can't say I ever saw any. Of the illustrations, which do not in any way illustrate the text, the less said the better. Again, in an account of an "At Home" of the Oriental Circle, I see that a Miss Victoria Drummond "was down for Chinese poems, of which she has made a special study," and we are informed that she "gave a selection from the odes of various Chinese writers from the *translations* of Mr. Cranmer Byng." So far as I know, Mr. Cranmer Byng makes no pretension to any knowledge of the Chinese language, though he does claim (*Who's Who*) to have been "largely instrumental in introducing Chinese poetry to European readers." He has taken a good many translations made by me, and has fitted rhymes to the ends of the lines. His collection was published under the title of "A Lute of Jade," which a merciless critic rechristened "A Loot of Jade." A little book, entitled "Strange Stories from the Lodge of Leisures," attracted my attention through a notice in the Literary Supplement to *The Times*, where we are told that it consists of twenty-five stories, translated by M. Georges Soulié from the Chinese of P'ou Song-Lin (*sic*), who wrote them "in the second half of the eighteenth century, at a time that is, when with Fielding and Richardson our fiction was becoming increasingly robust and realistic;" and also, I would add, at a date when "P'ou Song-Lin" had long since been dead. In 1880, I published a translation of 164 of these tales, under the title of "Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio," with a full explanation of my use of the term "Studio," which, by the way,—that is, the Chinese character for which it stands,—could never, under any circumstances, mean "Leisures," or even "Leisure." On the similarity of the two titles, my publishers communicated with M. Soulié's publishers, with the result that M. Soulié denied — and I fully accept his denial—that he had ever heard of my work. In any case, I could more easily forgive plagiarism than the two mistakes pointed out above.

In "A Mission to Heaven" we have a work which Dr. Timothy Richard considers to be a right and proper contribution to the library of the Christian Literature Society. It is said on the title-page to be "One of the World's Literary Masterpieces, and A Great Chinese Epic and Allegory." It has been advertised as "Dante's Purgatorio and Paradiso, Shakespeare's plays, the Arabian Nights and the Pilgrim's Progress, all rolled into one." It is further said to have "a profoundly religious purpose running through it, all showing how man may become immortal and omnipotent like God." Finally, it is said to be "translated by Dr. Timothy Richard." This wonderful work has been known to me for many years, and I have several times published extracts from it, especially in my "History of Chinese Literature (pp. 281-287)," where I have added a sufficient outline of its contents. For me, this "great Chinese epic and allegory" consists of the farcical adventures of a monkey who is supposed to accompany the famous traveller Hsüan Tsang on his journey to India in search of the Buddhist scriptures, etc. The misdeeds of this creature cause God to send various heavenly generals against him, all of whom, however, the monkey easily defeats, even including God's own nephew, though, with the aid of a magic ring, Lao Tzü manages to knock him down. God then places the matter in the hands of Buddha,—is it necessary to proceed? Of this ridiculous nonsense there are no fewer than 100 chapters, of which Dr. Richard has only attempted to translate 11, giving a brief *résumé* of the remaining 89. The book is strewed with blunders; e. g. on p. IX we have "the Kwen Lun Mountains (崑崙山) of Lao Shan, Shantung," as the place where the Chinese author studied in his youth. A student interpreter might well be excused if he mistook 崑 for 崑; but even he would not be excused if he

placed the Kwen Lun (*i. e.* K'un-lun) Mountains in the province of Shantung. Are the managers of the Christian Literature Society asleep that such claptrap can be set down to their account?

I have also received "Chinese and Sumerian" from the Rev. C. J. Ball, and a handy translation of the Diamond Sûtra from Mr. W. Gemmell; but I am unable to agree with the conclusions of the former writer or with some of the renderings of the latter.



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**Zebra**, identified as *Fu-lu*, 392.

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

**P. 16.** — In *Tραχίναι*, l. 560, *βαθύππος* is an epithet of the river Evenus, said by Tozer to be a very rapid stream, apparently to bear out an old epithet *λυκόρρυς*, which has been taken to mean "with the rush of a wolf". Wolves, however, do not rush, but follow steadily.

Their long gallop which can tire  
The hounds' deep hate, the hunter's fire. BYRON.

**P. 32, l. 10.** — "The kneeling attitude convinces me. I took the figure as kneeling before I read the text, or noticed the visible toes." *Miss Jane E. Harrison, LL.D. etc.*

**P. 68.** — For **苦** *K'u*, read *Hu*.

**P. 73.** — For the demolition of Ho-shang Kung, see *Autour d'une traduction sanscrite du Tao Tö King*, by Prof. Pelliot.

**P. 82.** — For "This man (l. 3) — on him", read "A neighbour, who was owed money which had been outstanding for many years, made use of his power to threaten the debtor with all kinds of penalties. The latter, believing that the communication came from spirits, hurriedly paid up. The man himself said that he did not know how he managed it. This story illustrates punishment for not doing what we ought to do."

**P. 120, l. 14.** — Refer to p. 171.

**P. 135, l. 5.** — After "mountain" add "in Honan".

**P. 153, l. 5.** — "During morning and evening prayers, which were extremely lengthy and fatiguing, I fancied that one of my two selves could slit up, and sit clinging to the cornice, and look down on my other self and the rest of us." *Father and Son*, by Edmund Gosse, p. 46.

**P. 187, l. 1.** — For "12th" read "13th".

**P. 187, l. 7.** — For "spondias amara" read "二菴摩勒 (Sanskrit *āmalaka*) myrobalan".

**P. 188, ad fin.** — Add "To the ordinary uses to which gold is put, the natives of India supply some that are curious. According to the annual bullion report of Messrs. Samuel Montagu and Co., gold in the form of thin leaf is swallowed in India for medicinal purposes."

P. 213. — Mr. L. C. Hopkins writes, "I suggest as an amended emendation for 阜, the character 里 a village. The change in strokes would not be an obstacle, and the classical word *li* for village would not only suit the context but would bring the whole four terminal words into rhyme." He has hit the nail upon the head.

P. 301. — Compare the picture of Christ in Laufer's "Christian Art in China," plate III.

P. 308, l. 17. Prof. Chavannes' suggestion was not intended for publication. In the *T'oung pao* for 1910, p. 302, n. 2, which I had overlooked, he gives the correct reading: **四年七月**.

P. 383, l. 22. For 梅 read 枚.

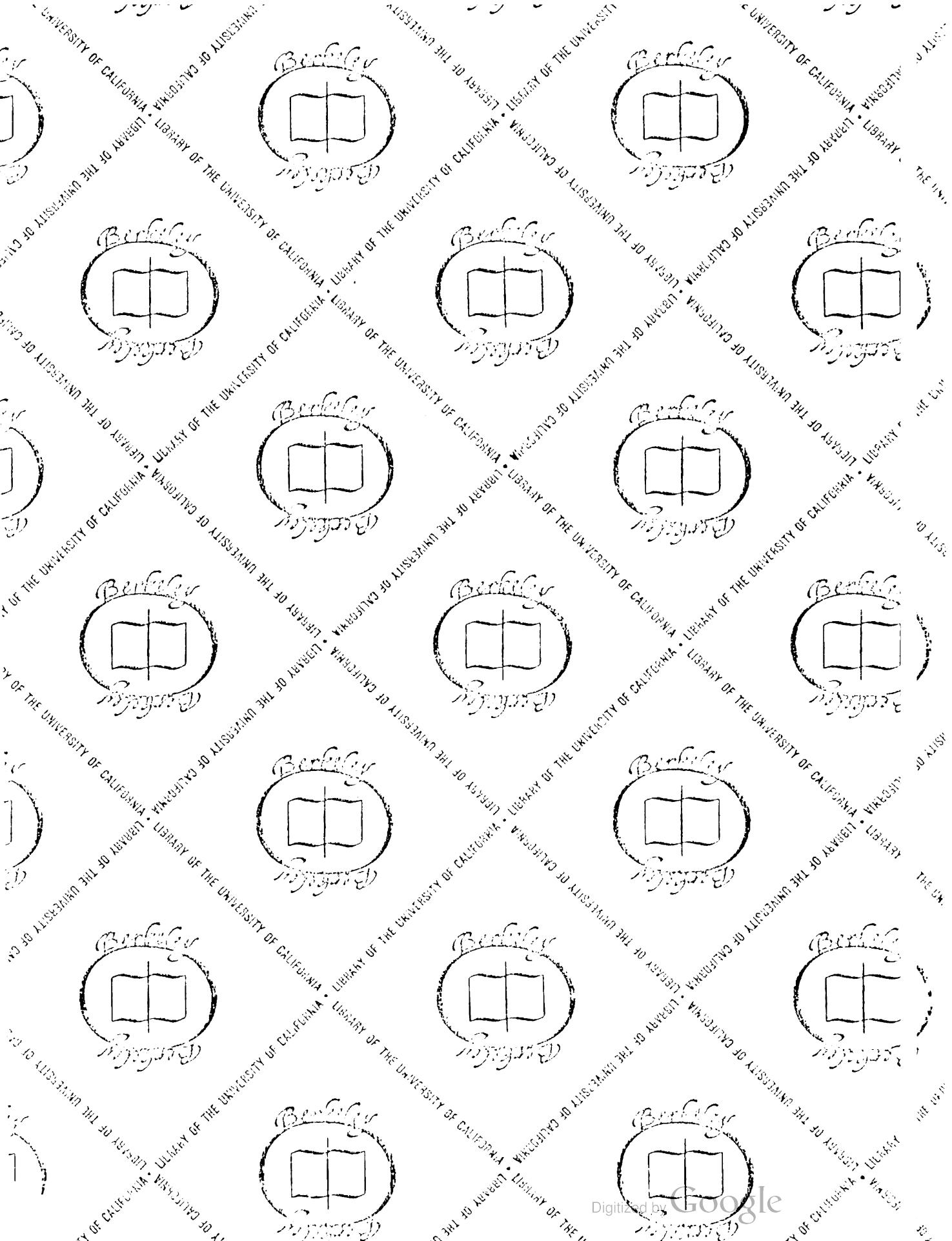
P. 384, l. 4. For "tome XI etc." read "tome V (1905), pp. 219—224".

P. 386, l. 16. I am wrong here as to 帶鉤. It means a buckle or fastening for a belt.

P. 392, l. 2. For "Chan" read "Shan," according to K'ang Hsi.

P. 392, l. 9. Add "If 在 is read for 有, then we should have, The country of Fu-lin is to the west of the Shan country, separated by a chain of mountains several thousand *li* in length." [The last three corrections have been kindly forwarded by Prof. Pelliot.]





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